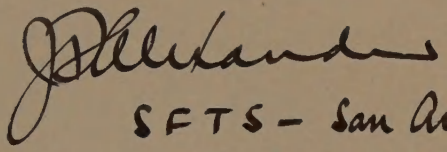
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THE ARAMAIC OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

A GRAMMATICAL AND LEXICAL STUDY
OF ITS RELATIONS WITH OTHER
EARLY ARAMAIC DIALECTS

BY

H. H. ROWLEY

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON : HUMPHREY MILFORD
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TO THE MEMORY OF

GEORGE BUCHANAN GRAY

A PRINCE

AMONG SCHOLARS AND MEN

PREFACE

THIS book is long overdue. It is now some sixteen years since R. D. Wilson issued his strictures on the positions of S. R. Driver, and throughout this long period he has been left without answer, save for the brief pages Driver himself wrote in reply. Meanwhile, fresh attacks have been made, and the impression has been created that the discovery of the Elephantine Papyri has overthrown the case for the critical date of the book of Daniel. Even so accomplished a scholar as J. A. Montgomery can be misled by these attacks to the extent of declaring that the Papyri invalidate many of Driver's contentions. I am persuaded that Driver's positions are impregnable, and that his own claim that the Papyri confirmed his conclusions was abundantly justified.

My purpose, however, in this study, is not merely to reply to these critics. I have undertaken an independent examination of the whole subject of the relations between Biblical Aramaic and the other Early Aramaic dialects, and have only compared my results with theirs after arriving at them on the basis of materials compiled by my own study. That study has occupied me far longer than I originally intended. For it is thirteen years since I undertook the task. For much of the intervening time I have been in China, far from all access to learned libraries, and immersed in tasks which allowed me little leisure for such work.

My indebtedness to the work of other scholars, and especially to the editors of the standard collections of the Inscriptions and Papyri, will be apparent on every page. I have tried to acknowledge my debt as far as possible, in the foot-notes. To some, however, I must express my special thanks for the personal help they have given me. To the late Dr. G. Buchanan Gray I am indebted for the suggestion of the subject of my study, and for constant

guidance and help. I count it a privilege to have called him Master and Friend. To Dr. G. A. Cooke and to Mr. G. R. Driver, M.A., I am grateful for a number of criticisms and suggestions, but more especially for their encouragement to publish my work, and their ready help in making publication possible. Without their interest and assistance this book could never have seen the light of day. To Mr. J. F. Stenning, C.B., M.A., I would express my thanks for advice and help, and for his readiness, at a time of unusual pressure, to spare me of his time to discuss my work. My thanks are also due to Dr. H. Wheeler Robinson and Dr. J. P. Naish for their encouragement and assistance.

It is a pleasant privilege to record my very special thanks to the Trustees of the Kennicott Fund, whose most generous grant has enabled me to publish this work.

Finally, I would recognize my indebtedness to the Clarendon Press for the care with which they have executed the printing, and for their courtesy in making it possible for me to see the book in proof before my return to China.

H. H. R.

Ryde, I. O. W.
September, 1928.

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PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS EMPLOYED

Abyd	Abydos (Asia Minor).
AE	*Ancient Egypt.*
AF	H. Zimmern's *Akkadische Fremdwörter*, 2nd. ed., 1917.
AFA	S. Fraenkel's *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, 1886.
Aḥ	The Aḥiḳar Papyri, as arranged in Cowley's *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century, B. C.*
AI	A. T. Clay's *Aramaic Indorsements on the Documents of the Murašu Sons*, in *Old Testament and Semitic Studies in Memory of William Rainey Harper*, 1908.
AJSL	*American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures.*
AOF	*Archiv für Orientforschung.*
AP	A. E. Cowley's *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century, B. C.*, 1923.
APE	A. Ungnad's *Aramäische Papyrus aus Elephantine*, 1911.
APO	Ed. Sachau's *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka*, 1911.
Ar	Arabic.
Arab	Arabia.
As Mi	Asia Minor.
Ass	Assyria or Assyrian.
AUA	M. Lidzbarski's *Altaramäische Urkunden aus Assur*, 1921.
Av P	Avroman Parchment. (For editions consulted, see p. 5 *n.*)
BA	Biblical Aramaic.
Bab	Babylon(ia).
BDB	Brown, Driver, and Briggs' *English and Hebrew Lexicon*, 1906.
Beh	The Behistun Papyri, as arranged in Cowley's *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century, B. C.*
Bev., *Dan.*	A. A. Bevan's *Short Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, 1892.
BH	Biblical Hebrew.
B-L	H. Bauer and P. Leander's *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen*, 1927.
Capp	Cappadocia.
Carp st	Carpentras stele.
Charles, *Dan.*	R. H. Charles's *Daniel*, in the *Century Bible.*
CIS	*Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum.*
Comp	C. C. Torrey's *The Composition and Historical Value of Ezra–Nehemiah*, 1896.
CRAI	*Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres.*
Dal^{AG}	G. Dalman's *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch*, 2nd ed., 1905.
Dr^{S}	S. R. Driver's *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, 2nd ed., 1913.
Dr^{T}	S. R. Driver's *A Treatise on the use of the Tenses in Hebrew*, 3rd ed., 1892.
EA	L. Delaporte's *Épigraphes Araméens*, 1912.

E. Brit.	*Encyclopædia Britannica.*
Egy	Egypt.
EO	Egyptian Ostrakon or Ostraka.
EP	Egyptian Papyrus or Papyri.
ES	C. C. Torrey's *Ezra Studies*, 1910.
ESE	M. Lidzbarski's *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik.*
Eut	J. Euting's *Nabatäische Inschriften*, 1885.
Eut^{P}	J. Euting's *Epigraphische Miscellen* (Palmyrene inscriptions) in *SBAW*, 1885, pp. 669–688, and 1887, pp. 407–422.
Eut^{S}	J. Euting's *Sinäitische Inschriften*, 1891.
Frey	G. W. Freytag's *Lexicon-Arabico-Latinum*, 1830–37.
G-B	Gesenius-Buhl's *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament*, 17th ed., 1921.
GGA	*Göttingsche gelehrte Anzeigen.*
Gir^{T}	Egyptian tomb inscriptions, published by Noël Giron in *AE*, 1923, pp. 38–43.
GVG	C. Brockelmann's *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, 1908, 1913.
Guzneh	The Cilician Boundary Inscription. (For editions consulted, see p. 6 *n.*)
IS	H. Pognon's *Inscriptions sémitiques de la Syrie, de la Mésopotamie et de la région de Mossoul*, 1908.
JA	*Journal Asiatique.*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society.*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature.*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies.*
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
J-S	Jaussen et Savignac's *Mission Archéologique en arabie*, i. 1909, ii. 1914.
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies.*
JTVI	*Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute.*
Kamp., *Dan.*	A. Kamphausen's *The Book of Daniel*, in SBOT, 1896.
KAT	E. Schrader's *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 3rd ed., edited by H. Zimmern and H. Winckler, 1903.
K^{GBA}	E. Kautzsch's *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen*, 1884.
Kittl^{BH}	R. Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica.*
KVG	C. Brockelmann's *Kurzgefasste vergleichende Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, 1908.
La	E. W. Lane's *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, 1863–86.
Levy^{ChW}	J. Levy's *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, 1867–8.
Levy^{NHW}	J. Levy's *Neuhebräisches und Chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, 1876–89.
Lidz	M. Lidzbarski.
Litt	E. Littmann's *Nabataean Inscriptions*, 1914.
LOT	S. R. Driver's *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, 9th ed., 1913.
Marti^{D}	K. Marti's *Das Buch Daniel*, 1901 (in KHC).
Marti^{GBA}	K. Marti's *Kurzgefasste Grammatik der biblisch-aramäischen Sprache*, 3rd ed., 1925

MDOG	*Mitteilungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft.*
Mein., *Dan.*	J. Meinhold's *Das Buch Daniel*, 1889 (in KK).
Mesop	Mesopotamia.
Mont., *Dan.*	J. A. Montgomery's *Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, 1927 (in ICC).
N	Nabataean.
Ner	Nerab.
NGGW	*Nachrichten von der königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.*
Nin	Nineveh.
NPF	G. Dalman's *Neue Petra Forschungen*, 1912.
NSE	M. Lidzbarski's *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, 1898.
NSI	G. A. Cooke's *Text-book of North Semitic Inscriptions*, 1903.
OLZ	*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.*
P	Palmyrene.
PB	J. Barth's *Pronominalbildung*, 1913.
PEF Ann. Vol.	The Annual Volume of the Palestine Exploration Fund.
PEFQS	*Quarterly Statement* of the Palestine Exploration Fund.
Pr, *Dan.*	J. D. Prince's *Critical Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, 1899.
PSBA	*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.*
RA	*Revue archéologique.*
RAO	Clermont-Ganneau's *Recueil d'archéologie orientale.*
REA	*Revue des Études anciennes.*
RES	*Répertoire d'Épigraphie sémitique.*
RS	*Revue sémitique.*
S	Sinaitic.
SAC	S. A. Cook's *Glossary of the Aramaic Inscriptions*, 1898.
Sach	Ed. Sachau's *Palmyrenische Inschriften* in *ZDMG*, xxxv. (1881), pp. 728–48.
Saq pap	The Saqqara Papyrus (CIS ii. 145 = NSI 76 = AP 71).
Sard	The Aramaic-Lydian bilingual inscription from Sardis. (For editions consulted, see p. 6 *n.*)
SBAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften.*
S-C	Sayce and Cowley's *Aramaic Papyri discovered at Assuan*, 1906.
SKAW	*Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (*phil.-hist. Klasse*).
Stev.	J. H. Stevenson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Contracts with Aramaic Reference Notes*, 1902.
Str^{GBA}	H. L. Strack's *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen*, 6th ed., 1921.
Syr	Syriac.
Targ	Targum.
Tar	The Palmyrene Tariff.
Tax	The inscription from Taxila. (For editions consulted, see p. 5 *n.*)
TCA	*Transactions of the Connecticut Academy.*
Vog	de Vogüé's *Syrie Centrale*, 1868–77,—the Palmyrene inscriptions.

Vog^{H}	de Vogüé's *Syrie Centrale*, 1868–77,—the Hauran inscriptions.
Vog^{N}	do.—the Nabataean inscriptions.
VOJ	*Vienna Oriental Journal.*
Wr^{CG}	W. Wright's *Lectures on the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, 1890.
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.*
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.*
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*
Zenj	Zenjirli.

INTRODUCTORY

IN recent years, and more particularly since the discovery of the Aramaic Papyri at Elephantine, renewed attention has been given to the problem of the relation of Biblical Aramaic to the Old Aramaic dialects. Especially has attention centred on the question of the Aramaic of Daniel, and the well-known judgement of the late S. R. Driver has been vigorously controverted. That judgement, which appeared both in his *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*[1] and in his commentary on the book of Daniel in the *Cambridge Bible*,[2] reads as follows: 'The verdict of the language of Daniel is thus clear. The *Persian* words presuppose a period after the Persian Empire had been well established: the Greek words *demand*, the Hebrew *supports*, and the Aramaic *permits*, a date *after the conquest of Palestine by Alexander the Great* (B. C. 332). The Aramaic is also of the type that was spoken *near Palestine*'.

This statement has been subjected to an extended and critical examination by R. D. Wilson, in his Essay on *The Aramaic of Daniel*, in the Princeton *Biblical and Theological Essays*, published in 1912.[3] Reference may also be made to the criticisms offered by W. St. Clair Tisdall in his paper read before the Victoria Institute in May 1921,[4] and in his article in *The Expositor* of November of the same year,[5] and to Charles Boutflower's work *In and Around the Book of Daniel* (1923), chapters xxi and xxii of which are devoted to this question.

In answer to these attacks nothing of equal fullness has been published, so far as the present writer is aware. S. R. Driver himself added four pages[6] to the ninth edition of his *Introduction*,

[1] Ninth edition (1913), p. 508. [2] P. lxiii. [3] Pp. 263–305.

[4] *Vide JTVI* liii. (1921), pp. 206–45, *The Book of Daniel: Some Linguistic Evidence regarding its Date.*

[5] Pp. 340–57, *Egypt and the Book of Daniel.*

[6] Pp. xxxiv–xxxviii.

in answer to R. D. Wilson, and while this rejoinder did not traverse anything like the whole of the ground covered in the Princeton Professor's attack, it was abundantly sufficient to show that both his argument and the evidence he mustered needed most careful examination. Recently, too, G. R. Driver has examined in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*[1] the views on this subject advanced by Boutflower in the work above referred to. There would seem, however, to be room for a more extended examination of the arguments of these critics, and for a fresh review of the whole question.

[1] Vol. xlv. (1926), pp. 110–19, 323–5.

I

THE literature which it falls to our lot to examine is divided amongst a number of groups, scattered widely in time and place. Leaving aside for the moment the Biblical sources, we may note the following groups[1]:

(1) *North Syria.* This comprises (*a*) the stele found at Ördek Burnu,[2] dating at latest from the early eighth century B. C., and possibly even from the tenth century, but unfortunately practically unintelligible, (*b*) the inscription of ZKR, king of Hamath,[3] found in the neighbourhood of Aleppo,[4] which dates from the eighth century B. C., and is in a mixed dialect, with both Canaanite and Aramaic affinities,[5] (*c*) the Zenjirli inscriptions,[6] which also belong to the eighth century B. C., and (*d*) the Nerab inscriptions,[7]

[1] A number of isolated inscriptions are left unnoted here, either (i) because they are too fragmentary to be of any use for our purpose, e.g., inscriptions from (*a*) Greece, CIS ii, 112, (*b*) Caucasus, CIS ii. 110, (*c*) Armenia, ESE ii. p. 249 f., iii. p. 65, RES 954, (*d*) Palestine and Syria, CIS ii. 156, RES 617, 618, 1811–15, (*e*) Faraša, RES 671 = 966, ESE iii. p. 66 f.; or (ii) because the text has not yet been published, so far as I am aware, e.g., inscriptions from (*f*) Naqsch-i-Rustam, *vide* Herzfeld in *ZDMG* lxxx. (1926), pp. 244 f., and (*g*) Assur and Hatra, *vide* Jensen in *MDOG* No. 60 (July 1920), pp. 1–51.

[2] ESE iii. pp. 192–206; RES 1786.

[3] IS 86; ESE iii. pp. 1–11. Cf. also Nöldeke, *Aramäische Inschriften* in *ZA* xxi. (1908), pp. 375–88: Halévy, *Inscription de Zakir, roi de Hamat* in *RS* xvi. (1908), pp. 243–46; *id.*, *Nouvelles remarques sur l'inscription de Zakir*, *ibid.*, pp. 357–76: Dussaud, *Le Royaume de Hamat et de Lou'ouch au VIII^e siècle avant J.-C.* in *RA* xi. (1908), pp. 222–35; Torrey, *The Zakar and Kalamu Inscriptions* in *JAOS* xxxv. (1915), pp. 353–69.

[4] During the lifetime of M. Pognon, the place where the inscription was discovered was not disclosed, but after his death it was announced in *Syria* iii. (1922), pp. 175 f.

[5] *Vide* Halévy in *RS* xvi. (1908), pp. 371 f.

[6] NSE Plates xxii–xxiv and pp. 440–4; NSI 61–3; ESE iii. pp. 218–38. Cf. also Sachau, *Die Inschrift des Königs Panammû von Sam'al* in *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli* (1893), Heft. xi. of *Mittheilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlungen*, pp. 55–84; D. H. Müller, *Die altsemitischen Inschriften von Sendschirli* in *VOJ* vii. (1893), pp. 33–70, 113–40; Halévy, *Nouvel Examen des inscriptions de Zindjirli* in *RS* vii. (1899), pp. 333–55; Torrey, *The Zakar and Kalamu Inscriptions* in *JAOS* xxxv. (1915), pp. 353–69.

[7] NSE Plate xxv. and p. 445; NSI 64, 65. Cf. also Halévy, *Les deux*

dating probably from the seventh century B.C. Montgomery maintains[1] that the Zenjirli inscriptions should be regarded as Hebrew, save for the Bar-RKB inscription, and should not be classed with the Aramaic inscriptions. The KLMU inscription is certainly Phoenician or Canaanite, and not Aramaic, and is therefore disregarded for our purpose, but the remaining inscriptions exhibit many of the characteristic features of Aramaic, though still with Canaanite admixture.[2]

(2) *Assyria and Babylonia.* This group comprises (*a*) inscriptions on weights and seals, together with Aramaic dockets on Contracts,[3] ranging from the end of the eighth century on into the fifth century B.C., and an ostrakon from Nippur,[4] probably of the fifth century, (*b*) a political[5] letter of the time of Ashurbanipal,[6] and (*c*) an Aramaic text in cuneiform script from Uruk,[7] dating from the period of the Seleucids. In view of the great

Stèles de Nerab in *RS* iv. (1896), pp. 279–85 (and also pp. 369–73 and v. (1897), pp. 189–92); Hoffmann, *Aramäische Inschriften aus Nêrab bei Aleppo* in *ZA* xi. (1896), pp. 207–36.

[1] *Vide A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (1927), p. 17 *n.* So, too, Halévy in *RS* vii. (1899), pp. 353 f.

[2] Cf. NSI pp. 184 f., and Müller in *VOJ* vii. (1893), pp. 113–26, 139, where the language of these inscriptions is discussed.

[3] CIS ii. 1–107; Stevenson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Contracts with Aramaic Reference Notes* (1902); Clay, *Aramaic Indorsements on the documents of the Murašu sons* in *Old Testament and Semitic Studies in Memory of William Rainey Harper* (1908); Delaporte, *Épigraphes Araméens* (1912); ESE ii. pp. 200–10, iii. pp. 12–18.

[4] ESE iii. pp. 63 f.; RES 957. See also Montgomery, *An Aramaic Ostrakon from Nippur* in *JAOS* xxix. (1908). pp. 204–9.

[5] Lidzbarski maintains its political character, against Baneth.

[6] Lidzbarski, *Ein aramäischer Brief aus der Zeit Aššurbanipals* in *MDOG* No. 58 (1917), pp. 50–2, and in *ZA* xxxi. (1918), pp. 193–202; Baneth, *Zu dem aramäischen Brief aus der Zeit Assurbanipals* in *OLZ* xxii. (1919), cols. 55–8; Lidzbarski, *Altaramäische Urkunden aus Assur* (1921), pp. 5–15.

[7] Ebeling, *Ein Beschwörungstext in aramäisch-akkadischer Mischsprache* (*Berliner Beiträge zur Keilschriftforschung*, II 2 (1925)); Jensen, *Der aramäische Beschwörungstext in spätbabylonischer Keilschrift* (1926); G. R. Driver, *An Aramaic Inscription in the Cuneiform Script* in *AOF* iii. (1926), pp. 47–53; Bostrup, *Aramäische Ritualtexte in Keilschrift* in *Acta Orientalia* v. (1926–7), pp. 257–301.

uncertainty as to what was the precise Aramaic which lay behind the cuneiform writing, however, and the differences between the Aramaic readings of the scholars who have attempted to deal with this text, it is obviously impossible for us to do more than make the most cautious and limited use of the Uruk text for our purpose.

(3) *Persia and India.* This comprises (*a*) an inscription from Senq-qaleh,[1] dating probably from the sixth century B.C., or earlier, (*b*) a parchment from Avroman,[2] dating probably from 12 or 11 B.C., and (*c*) an inscription from Taxila,[3] dating probably from the fourth century B.C.

(4) *Arabia.* This group comprises a few inscriptions from Têma and Hejra,[4] most probably dating from the fifth century B.C.

(5) *Egypt.* Here we have (*a*) inscriptions in a tomb,[5] dating probably from the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., (*b*) a few inscriptions from Memphis and elsewhere,[6] dating from the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., and (*c*) a large number of papyri and ostraka,[7] found principally at Elephantine, the papyri dating mostly

[1] CIS ii. 111.

[2] Sayce, *The Aramaic Parchment from Avroman* in *JHS* xxxix. (1919), pp. 202–4; Cowley, *The Pahlavi Documents from Avroman* in *JRAS*, 1919, pp. 147–54.

[3] Barnett, *An Aramaic Inscription from Taxila* in *JRAS*, 1915, pp. 340–2; Cowley, *The First Aramaic Inscription from India, ibid.*, pp. 342–7.

[4] CIS ii. 113–21; NSE Plates xxvi and xxvii, and p. 447; NSI 69, 70.

[5] Noël Giron, *Note sur une Tombe découverte près de Cheikh-fadl par Monsieur Flinders Petrie et contenant des Inscriptions araméennes* in *AE*, 1923, pp. 38–43.

[6] CIS ii. 122–36, 141–3; NSI 71, 72, 75; RES 438, 607–10, 797–9, 1363–77, 1788, 1817–19; ESE ii. p. 221, iii. pp. 93–115. Cf. also Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, 2nd ed. (1913), pp. xii–xiv.

[7] CIS ii. 137–40, 144–55; NSI 73, 74, 76, 77 and Appendix II; RES 246–8, 361, 491–8; 1295–1301, 1789–1810; ESE ii. pp. 223–48, iii. pp. 19–28; Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century* B.C. (1923). Cf. also Sayce and Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri discovered at Assuan* (1906); Sachau, *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus Elephantine* (1911); Staerk, *Die Jüdisch-Aramäischen Papyri von Assuan* (1907); *id.*, *Aramäische Urkunden zur Geschichte des Judentums* (1908); *id.*, *Alte und neue aramäische Papyri* (1912); Ungnad, *Aramäische Papyrus aus Elephantine* (1911); Noël Giron, *Fragments de Papyrus araméens provenants de Memphis* in *JA*, Eleventh series, xviii. (1921), pp. 56–64.

from the fifth century B.C.[1] and the ostraka being somewhat later.

(6) *Asia Minor.* Here we find a number of inscriptions, scattered somewhat widely in both place and time, comprising (*a*) an inscription from Abydos,[2] of the sixth or fifth century B.C., (*b*) three inscriptions from Cilicia,[3] dating probably from the fifth century B.C., (*c*) a bilingual Lydian-Aramaic inscription from Sardis,[4] dating from the fifth or fourth century B.C., (*d*) an inscription from Limyra,[5] dating probably from the fourth century B.C., and (*e*) some inscriptions found in Cappadocia,[6] dating, in all probability, from the second century B.C.

[1] No account is here taken of the view that the papyri are spurious documents. D. S. Margoliouth advanced the suggestion that at least one of them was forged, and that therefore all were suspect, in his articles *The Elephantinê Papyri* (*Expositor*, Eighth series, iii. (1912), pp. 69–85) and *Note on the Elephantinê Papyri* (*ibid.*, pp. 351–4), to which replies appeared from S. A. Cook in *The Elephantinê Papyri and the Old Testament* (*ibid.*, pp. 193–207), and Agnes Smith Lewis in *Achikar and the Elephantinê Papyri* (*ibid.*, pp. 207–12). G. Jahn also attacked their genuineness as fifth-century documents, on both historical and linguistic grounds, in *Die Elephantiner Papyri und die Bücher Esra-Nehemja* (1913), while L. Belléli had earlier endeavoured to discredit the documents, principally on the ground of alleged discrepancies between the dual dates many of them contain, in *An Independent Examination of the Assuan and Elephantine Aramaic Papyri* (1909). Their genuineness is generally accepted, however, and is here assumed.

[2] CIS ii. 108; NSI 67.

[3] NSE Plate xxvi. 3 and p. 446; NSI 68; ESE iii. p. 64; RES 955, 956; Montgomery, *Report on an Aramaic Boundary Inscription in Cilicia* in *JAOS* xxviii. (1907), pp. 164–7; Halévy, *Une inscription bornaire araméenne de Cilicie* in *RS* xvi. (1908), pp. 434–7; Torrey, *New Notes on some Old Inscriptions* in *ZA* xxvi. (1912), pp. 90 f.; *id.*, *An Aramaic Inscription from Cilicia* in *JAOS* xxxv. (1915–17), pp. 370–4.

[4] Littmann, *Lydian Inscriptions* in *Sardis* VI i. (1916), pp. 23–38; Cowley, *Notes on Aramaic Text* in *Sardis* VI ii. (1924), pp. 3, 4; Cook, *A Lydian-Aramaic Bilingual* in *JHS* xxxvii. (1917), pp. 77–87; Lidzbarski, *Die lydisch-aramäischen Inschrift von Sardes* in *ZA* xxxi. (1917), pp. 122–30; Torrey, *Bilingual Inscription from Sardis* in *AJSL* xxxiv. (1917–18), pp. 185–98; Cuny, *L'inscription lydo-araméenne de Sardes* in *REA* xxii. (1920), pp. 259–72; Cowley, *L'inscription bilingue araméo-lydienne de Sardes* in *CRAI*, 1921, pp. 7–14.

[5] CIS ii. 109. Cf. also Sachau, *Eine altaramäische Inschrift aus Lycien* in *SKAW* cxiv. (1887), pp. 3–7.

[6] ESE i, pp. 59–74, 319–26; RES 1785.

(7) *Nabataean.* This group comprises a large number of inscriptions in the Nabataean dialect,[1] dating from the first century B.C. to the end of the second century A.D., and found in a variety of localities.

(8) *Sinaitic.* This comprises a vast number of brief inscriptions, in the Nabataean dialect, found in the Sinaitic Peninsula.[2]

(9) *Palmyrene.* Here we have a large number of inscriptions, honorary, votive, and sepulchral, in the Palmyrene dialect,[3] dating from the first to the third centuries A.D.[4], together with the long and important Palmyrene Tariff.[5] Most of these inscriptions are bilingual, as is also the Tariff. The Palmyrene inscriptions have been found, not only in Palmyra, but also in many places far distant from that locality.[6]

Most of these texts can be dated within reasonable limits, some

[1] The present study has made use of the following Nabataean inscriptions: NSE Plates xxix–xxxiii and pp. 448–55; NSI 78–102; CIS ii. 157–489; Euting, *Nabatäische Inschriften* (1885); Jaussen et Savignac, *Mission archéologique en Arabie* i. (1909), ii. (1914); Dalman, *Neue Petra Forschungen* (1912); Littmann, *Nabataean Inscriptions* (1914); Torrey, *Nabataean 'High Place' Inscription from Petra* in *JAOS* xxix. (1908), pp. 197–202; Cowley in *PEF* Annual Volume, 1914–15, pp. 145 f.; together with the many Nabataean inscriptions scattered in RES and ESE.

[2] NSE Plates xxxv, xxxvi, and pp. 455–57; NSI 103–9; CIS ii. 490–3233; Euting, *Sinäitische Inschriften* (1891).

[3] For the present study the Palmyrene inscriptions in the following works have been employed: NSE Plates xxxvii–xlii and pp. 457–62, 473–83; NSI 110–46; de Vogüé, *La Syrie Centrale* (1868–77); Simonsen, *Sculptures et Inscriptions de Palmyre* (1889); Porter, *Notes on the Palmyrene Inscriptions* in *PEFQS*, 1891, pp. 312–14; Chabot, *Choix d'inscriptions de Palmyre* (1922); together with the many Palmyrene inscriptions scattered in RES and ESE.

[4] O'Leary (*Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages* (1923), p. 13) states, by a curious error, that the Palmyrene inscriptions are earlier than the Nabataean, and date from the third century B.C. to the first century A.D. The earliest dated Palmyrene inscription belongs to the year 9 B.C., and the latest to the year A.D. 271. (*Vide* Chabot, *Choix d'inscriptions de Palmyre*, p. 13.)

[5] NSE pp. 463–73; NSI 147; Sachau, *Ueber den Palmyrenischen νόμος τελωνικός* in *ZDMG* xxxvii. (1883), pp. 562–71.

[6] For the list of places outside Palmyra, in which Palmyrene inscriptions have been found, including South Shields, Rome, and places in Hungary, Roumania, Algeria, and Egypt, see Chabot, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

on epigraphical grounds, and others, more definitely, by the time notes which they bear. Many of the Papyri bear these notes, and most of the Nabataean inscriptions—but not the Sinaitic group—and Palmyrene inscriptions are also dated. In dealing with them, therefore, we have our feet upon firm ground, where the evidence they present is clear and unequivocal. Unfortunately, however, our surviving texts are often so fragmentary that it is impossible to reach any sure conclusion on many of the forms employed. On many points evidence is wholly lacking in several of the groups, and in such cases it is more than precarious to attempt the argument from silence. Even where not wholly lacking, it is sometimes too scanty to justify any firm argument. Often the utmost we can do is to note the cumulative force of a number of scattered facts, none of which, taken alone, would bear much weight, and we must throughout beware of drawing conclusions more definite than the evidence really warrants.

Turning now to Biblical Aramaic, between the foregoing texts and which it is our purpose to make grammatical and lexical comparisons, we may note that it is to be found in parts of four chapters of the Book of Ezra (4 : 8—6 : 18, 7 : 12–26) and about six chapters of the Book of Daniel (2 : 4^{b}—7 : 28), together with a single verse in Jeremiah (10 : 11) and two words in Genesis 31 : 47.

The date of these sections of Ezra and Daniel is a matter of dispute, and if our study should enable us to place them with any assurance in their true relation to the rest of the early Aramaic texts, we should be able to fix some probable limits of time within which they originated. It is needless to say that we cannot hope from our study to establish the dates of the composition of the books of Ezra and Daniel. Such a task would carry us far beyond the range of the present study. It would require an investigation into the relations between the Aramaic portions of these books and the Hebrew portions, an inquiry into the question whether the Aramaic is original or a translation,[1] a discussion of the problem

[1] This problem is practically confined to the book of Daniel. So far as Ezra is concerned, it is generally agreed that the editor took over the Aramaic

of the letters embodied in the book of Ezra with a view to deter-

sections from an earlier Aramaic source, adding, perhaps, a few verses in Aramaic as connecting links. (*Vide* Torrey, *Comp.* pp. 7–10, 14, and ES pp. 157–61, 178.) It should be noted, however, that the suggestion has not been wholly wanting that there was translation from one language to the other. Advocates have been found of the view that 5 : 1—6 : 15 is a translation from Hebrew to Aramaic, and that chapters 1 and 3 were translated from Aramaic into Hebrew. (*Vide* Torrey, *Comp.* p. 13.) Much more serious has been the division of opinion so far as Daniel is concerned. (*a*) Several scholars have held that the book was originally written in Hebrew, but that the author, or one of his associates, translated it into Aramaic for popular circulation. Afterwards, when part of the Hebrew text was accidentally lost, the gap was filled up from the Aramaic. (Cf. Bevan, *Dan.* p. 27 f., Prince, *Dan.* p. 13.) Marti's criticisms of this theory have exposed its improbability. (Cf. Marti, *Dan.* p. ix.) (*b*) Scarcely more satisfactory is the theory of Marti that the book was composed originally in Aramaic, and, later, parts were rendered into Hebrew. It is argued that a book wholly in Aramaic had no chance of admission into the Canon, whereas a book partly in Aramaic might be admitted, on the precedent of Ezra. (*Vide op. cit.*, p. ix f. Cf. also B-L p. 6.) The case of Ezra is by no means fully parallel, however, since there the Aramaic sections are almost entirely alleged quotations from original documents. Moreover, it is hard to see why the translator of Daniel should not have finished his work. (*c*) Other scholars hold that the book is not a unity, Meinhold believing that the author extracted the Aramaic sections from a previously existing work (cf. *Dan.* p. 262. See also his *Comp. des B. Dan.* and *Beiträge z. Erk. des B. Dan.*); Dalman holding that a redactor took two independent works, Dan. 1–6 and 7–12, and welded them into a single work by translating 1 : 1—2 : 4a into Hebrew and 7 into Aramaic (*vide Words of Jesus*, Eng. ed., p. 13 = Germ. ed., p. 11); and Torrey maintaining that the Maccabean author of 7–12, wishing to add to the already existing book 1–6, which was written between 245 and 225 B.C., wrote his first vision in Aramaic, and rendered 1 : 1—2 : 4a into Hebrew (*vide TCA* xv. (1909), pp. 248 f.). To this last theory Montgomery attaches himself (cf. *Dan.* pp. 90 f.). (*d*) Other improbable theories may be found recorded in the excellent summary in Charles's *Dan.*, pp. xix–xxvi.

No really satisfactory explanation of the bilingual character of Daniel has yet been advanced. The point at which the second transition takes place renders any theory that accident determined it very difficult to sustain. (If the word ארמית is correctly regarded as a gloss, there is no special appropriateness in the first point of transition, though it is often assumed that there is.) The suggestion that there was translation with a view to inclusion in the Canon is most improbable, and if any one had undertaken the task with such a purpose, he would undoubtedly have translated the whole book, and not have trusted to the doubtful precedent of Ezra. The various theories of dual authorship are not very probable. Chapter 7 has sufficient connexion with chapter 2 to make

mining whether they are genuine or spurious,[1] and a study of the general contents of the books, with special reference to their his-

the suggestion of two quite independent works unlikely, while the theory that the Aramaic section was taken over from an earlier work, as it stood, labours under the disadvantage of having no explanation to offer to account for the peculiar point at which the quotation started. There must have been some introduction to the story of Nebuchadrezzar's dream in the alleged source. Why was that not also borrowed? Or, alternatively, why did not the later author write Hebrew introductions to the other stories? Torrey and Montgomery would seem to be on the right lines in holding that the changes in language were quite deliberate, and that the author of at least part of the book was responsible for them. The present writer is not convinced, however, of the duality of authorship. He believes that Daniel was a legendary hero concerning whom popular stories were current in the post-exilic period, and that a Maccabean author worked up some of these stories and issued them separately in Aramaic for the encouragement of his fellows. Chapters 2–6 were thus issued. Later, chapter 7 was similarly issued in Aramaic. The author had now passed over, however, to a different type of literature, which was less suitable for popular circulation. This he recognized by writing subsequent eschatological visions of this type in Hebrew. When he collected his stories and visions into a book, he wanted a fuller and more formal introduction than he had used for the first story when it was issued separately. He therefore rewrote the first part of the story of Nebuchadrezzar's dream, and since this was now intended as an introduction to the whole book, it was written in Hebrew, the language of the more recent sections. The point of transition was thus determined by the amount of the earlier material he desired to rewrite.

[1] Since the publication of Meyer's *Entstehung des Judentums* (1896), scholars have commonly followed him in holding the letters, with the single exception of Cyrus's, to be authentic, and even when doubts have been expressed as to their genuineness, they have been treated as historically reliable. Graetz had pronounced against the genuineness of them all (*vide Geschichte der Juden*, II ii. pp. 87 *n.*, 100 *n.*, 128 *n.* The notes are omitted in the English edition). So, too, Nöldeke had declared that the letter in 7 : 12–26 was not genuine (*vide GGA*, 1884, p. 1015 *n.*, and *Die semitischen Sprachen*, 2nd ed. (1899), p. 35 *n.*). Kosters, while finding some genuine parts in these sections, rejected most as worthless fabrications (*vide Het Herstel van Israël in het perzische Tijdvak* (1893), pp. 28–30, 63–74 = *Die Wiederherstellung Israels in der persische Period* (1895), pp. 24 f., 54–63). Wellhausen, on the other hand, declared all the Aramaic documents to be worthless (*vide Die Rückkehr der Juden aus dem babylonischen Exil*, in *NGGW*, 1895, pp. 169, 175 f.). Torrey critically examines Meyer's verdict, and upholds the view of Graetz and Wellhausen (*vide* ES pp. 142–57, and *Comp.* pp. 51–65). L. E. Browne holds the letters to be spurious or embellished, and of little independent worth (*vide Early Judaism*, pp. 36–9, 44 f.).

torical accuracy[1]—all of which lie outside the scope of our present inquiry. The utmost that we can seek to establish is the probable date, and perhaps place of origin, of the Aramaic sections of these books, without relation to the question whether they are original or a translation. And even this may prove to be beyond our power. The data may be insufficient to warrant any certainty as to when they were composed, though sufficient to render some suggestions improbable or impossible.

R. D. Wilson concludes the Essay already referred to with the words 'We are abundantly justified in concluding that the dialect of Daniel must have been used at or near Babylon at a time not long after the founding of the Persian empire'. This assured conclusion is wholly unsustained by the evidence, as we shall hope to establish in the course of the present study. Montgomery, while pronouncing definitely against Wilson, is very cautious in his positive judgement, saying 'the Aram. of Dan. is not earlier than within the fifth century, is more likely younger, certainly is not of the sixth century.'[2] Baumgartner goes farther, and pronounces the Aramaic of Daniel to belong to the second or third century B. C.,[3] while Torrey makes this judgement equally of the Aramaic of Ezra, saying[4] 'All the Aramaic of Daniel and Ezra belongs to the dialect of the second and third centuries B. C.'

For the contention that Biblical Aramaic stands somewhere between the Aramaic of the Papyri and that of the Nabataean and Palmyrene inscriptions, we believe the evidence to be overwhelming. On the one hand there are many and indisputable affinities with the dialect of the Papyri. Sachau's statement[5] that

[1] The present writer has elsewhere discussed this question in relation to Belshazzar and the 'Chaldæans' in the book of Daniel, in reply to recent attempts to defend the historical accuracy of the book of Daniel. (*Vide The Belshazzar of Daniel and of History*, in *The Expositor*, Ninth Series, ii. (1924), pp. 182–95, 255–72, and *The 'Chaldæans' in the Book of Daniel*, in *The Expository Times*, xxxviii. (1927), pp. 423–8.

[2] *Dan.* p. 20.

[3] *Das Aramäische im Buche Daniel*, in *ZAW*, Neue Folge, iv. (1927), p. 118.

[4] ES p. 161.

[5] *Drei aramäische Papyrusurkunden aus Elephantine* (1907), p. 3.

the language of the Papyri is 'in all essential respects identical with' Biblical Aramaic has been hailed as testimony for the traditional dating of Daniel.[1] But, as Torrey had already pointed out, this merely obscures the issues.[2] The affinities between Biblical Aramaic and the Papyri may be fully recognized, with Sachau, as they had earlier been recognized by Cowley,[3] but this does not prove that Biblical Aramaic is even contemporary with that of the Papyri, and certainly not that it is earlier. It is the differences from the Papyri that require particular attention. Moreover, the affinities with the later dialects of the Nabataean and Palmyrene inscriptions cannot be ignored. These have been noted, not only by Driver[4] and Baumgartner,[5] but also by Nöldeke,[6] Brockelmann,[7] Chabot,[8] and Sachau, who compared the relationship between Biblical Aramaic and Palmyrene with the close relationship between Biblical Hebrew and the dialect of the Moabite Stone and the Siloam inscription.[9] No one for a moment supposes that these affinities indicate that Biblical Aramaic was as late as the Nabataean and Palmyrene inscriptions, and it is hard to see how any one can assert that the affinities with the Papyri indicate that Biblical Aramaic was even earlier than the Papyri. When the affinities on both sides are frankly recognized, the conclusion is inevitable that Biblical Aramaic

[1] Cf. W. St. Clair Tisdall, in *JTVI*, *loc. cit.*, p. 237

[2] ES p. 163.

[3] S-C p. 20, 'Much of the interest of the texts lies in the many points of contact which they show with Palestinian Aramaic as represented by the books of Ezra and Daniel'.

[4] LOT p. 503, where he stated, in words closely parallel to Sachau's above-quoted remark, that Biblical Aramaic 'agrees in all essential points' with Nabataean and Palmyrene.

[5] *Loc. cit.*, p. 117.

[6] *E. Brit.*, 11th ed., vol. xxiv. p. 624 a, 'BA agrees in all essential points with the language used in the numerous inscriptions of Palmyra'. (= *Die sem. Sprachen*, 2nd ed., p. 36.)

[7] GVG vol. i. p. 15, where he states that consonantally the language of the Nabataean and Palmyrene inscriptions is identical with Biblical Aramaic.

[8] *Choix d'inscriptions de Palmyre*, p. 11, 'La langue de ces inscriptions est un dialecte sémitique qui s'accorde essentiellement avec l'araméen biblique'.

[9] *ZDMG* xxxvii. (1883), p. 564.

is intermediate between that of the Papyri and the Nabataean and Palmyrene dialects. That this conclusion is fatal to the positions of Wilson, Tisdall, and Boutflower is regrettable, perhaps, but it is nevertheless unshakeably grounded on the evidence.

II

We may preface our inquiry by referring briefly to a most misleading statement of Boutflower's, and to an initial confusion that has often been introduced into the discussion. Boutflower says[1] of S. R. Driver's above-quoted judgement: 'Before his lamented death this dictum, or at any rate the latter part of it respecting the Aramaic, was considerably modified by its author, owing to a remarkable discovery which will be related in the course of this chapter'. This statement is most misleading and inaccurate. In support of it, Boutflower says in a footnote, 'In his letter to *The Guardian* of November 6, 1907, Prof. Driver admits that the Aramaic spoken in Egypt in 408 B. C. "bears many points of resemblance to that found in the Old Testament"'. This is very far from sufficient, however, to justify the statement that Driver 'considerably modified' his dictum. Surely Boutflower must have known that in the ninth edition of his *Introduction*, which was revised in 1913, Driver repeated unaltered the very statement which he is alleged to have considerably modified, and that he added a note to the 1912 edition of his *Cambridge Bible* commentary,[2] in which he said 'Sachau's *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus einer Jüdischen Militär-Kolonie zu Elephantine* (5th century B. C.) has just (Sept. 1911) appeared. The documents are written in the same Egyptian Aramaic previously known; and confirm the conclusions expressed in L.O.T. (8th ed.), p. 515.' So far, therefore, from Driver's having considerably modified his opinion in the light of the Papyri, he explicitly reaffirmed it.[3]

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 226. [2] P. cvi.

[3] Montgomery remarks (*Dan.* p. 20 *n.*): 'Wilson rightly takes issue with

Turning now to the confusion that has been introduced into the discussion, we note that R. D. Wilson takes strong exception to Driver's statement that the Aramaic of Daniel is Western, and sums up his argument by saying[1] 'Hence it is wrong to say that the book of Daniel was written in Western Aramaic as distinguished from Eastern'. W. St. Clair Tisdall, however, would seem to hold that it is both right and necessary so to say. He remarks:[2] 'Western Aramaic is undoubtedly much the older of the two dialects. . . . Had Daniel originally been written largely in Eastern Aramaic, its antiquity could not be maintained for a moment.' Both writers, however, confuse the issue. They discuss the characteristic of post-Christian Eastern Aramaic, or Syriac, viz., the use of the preformative *n* in the Imperfect, 3rd pers. masc., and show that this characteristic did not appear in any pre-Christian Aramaic dialects. They therefore rightly maintain that this late criterion is not available to determine whether Biblical Aramaic is Western or Eastern. Had Driver invoked this criterion, the argument might have been relevant, but since he did not propose to use this criterion in this connexion, it is hard to know why such importance should be laid on emphasizing its disqualification. When Driver stated that the Aramaic of Daniel is Western, what he clearly meant was that, so far as could be gleaned from the knowledge we have of pre-Christian Aramaic dialects, the affinities of the Aramaic of Daniel are more particularly with the dialects spoken in the immediate neighbourhood of Palestine than with those spoken in Assyria

Driver over the latter's contentions for the late character of the Aram. of Dan., many of which the Papyri invalidate.' Montgomery seems to have relied on Wilson's misrepresentations of Driver's positions, and to be unaware that Driver did not contend for the late character of the Aramaic of Daniel, but simply said the Aramaic *permitted* a second-century date. It is to be regretted that Montgomery did not specify which of Driver's statements or arguments have been invalidated by the Papyri. Driver himself found only confirmation. The present writer would emphatically dissent from this statement of Montgomery's, and believes that the present study will expose how thoroughly *wrongly* Wilson takes issue with Driver.

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 270.

[2] *Expositor, loc. cit.*, p. 356.

and Babylonia. In support of this position he did not adduce the differences from the post-Christian Syriac dialect, but the differences from the Aramaic found in pre-Christian centuries in Nineveh and Babylon, as represented on weights and contract tablets.

It may be agreed, indeed, that it is impossible to establish adequate criteria to divide pre-Christian Aramaic dialects into Eastern and Western in quite the same sharp way as post-Christian dialects. The Aramaic text in cuneiform shows us that by the Seleucid period some of the same phonetic changes had taken place in the East as in the West, though the Aramaic document from Avroman, dated, according to Cowley, 12 or 11 B.C., presents us with examples of the older phonetic usage alone. The time factor is therefore very much more important than the geographical. Nevertheless, the position of Driver which these writers assail is essentially secure. For the *provenance* of the Aramaic of Daniel is really bound up with its date. An origin of the Aramaic sections in the sixth century in Babylon is impossible to maintain in the face of our knowledge of the Aramaic of Babylon in that age. It is true that an origin in Palestine in the sixth century is equally impossible to maintain, but no one is concerned to do so. On the other hand, it may be granted that if we had a fuller and more certain knowledge of the Aramaic of the East in the second century, we might be able to maintain the possibility that the Aramaic of Daniel originated there in that age. But again, no one is concerned to maintain it. If Daniel originated in the second century,[1] it is almost certainly

[1] It has already been noted that some recent scholars, while rejecting a sixth-century date for Daniel, would push the Aramaic sections back beyond the second century, and an Eastern origin for them has been held, e.g., by Montgomery, to be possible. It cannot be maintained, however, that the Aramaic, as we have it, could belong to the East at any period earlier than the second century. Phonetically alone this is decisively ruled out, since we have positive evidence that phonetic changes which were in progress in the West in the fifth century were only beginning in the East in the second century. We are therefore compelled to place the Aramaic we have before us in the West, or to assume a later revision of the text. The failure to establish the sixth-century origin in

Palestinian, and it is strangely significant that of all the early Aramaic literature which has come down to us, that which originated nearest to Palestine and nearest to the second century B. C., should also be nearest to the Aramaic of Daniel in its stage of development. This was really all that Driver maintained, and no excursion into post-Christian times can do more than evade the issue.

III

The most notable and significant of the differences observable in the Old Aramaic texts we possess is in the method of writing certain classes of words. To these differences we will therefore first direct our attention.

(1) It is commonly observed that where Hebrew ז = Arabic ذ, it is represented in Aramaic by ד.[1] Biblical Aramaic consistently agrees with this usage of later Aramaic, as also do the Nabataean and Palmyrene inscriptions. When we turn, however, to the older inscriptions of Zenjirli, Nerab, Assyria, Babylonia, Persia, India, Arabia, Egypt, and Asia Minor, we find that the normal usage agrees with the Hebrew or Phoenician. The following examples may be selected:

דהב Ezr 7 : 15, Dn 2 : 32, Vog 6 : 3 (P). [Cf. BH זהב, Ar ذَهَبٌ, Targ דהב, Syr ܕܗܒ.]

דכר (*remember*) Ezr 4 : 15, CIS ii. 235 A : 1 (N), Eut[S] 5 (S), NSI 140 B : 7 (P). [Cf. BH זכר, Ar ذَكَرَ, Targ דכר, Syr ܕܟܪ.]

דכר (*ram*) Ezr 6 : 9, (*male*) Eut 12 : 2 (N). [Cf. BH זכר, Ar ذَكَر, Targ דכרא, Syr ܕܟܪܐ.]

Babylon still leaves us with but one alternative for the text as it has come down to us—viz., a Western origin. We are not concerned with the possible date or place of origin of a text which is reconstructed in accordance with a particular theory of its origin.

[1] Cf. Wr[CG] p. 55 f., Dr[T] p. 226, GVG i. p. 128, KVG p. 50 f.

דרע Dn 2 : 32. Cf. אדרע[1] Ezr 4 : 23. [Cf. BH זרוע, אזרוע, Ar ذِرَاعٌ, Targ דרעא, Syr ܕܪܥܐ.]

דחל Dn 2 : 31, Vog 1 : 3 (P). [Cf. BH זחל, Targ דחל, Syr ܕܚܠ. Vb. not in Ar, but cf. noun ذَحْلٌ = *rancour, hatred.* (La i. 956 b).]

חד (du. = *breast*) Dn 2 : 32. [Cf. BH חזה, Targ חדיא, Syr ܚܕܝܐ. Not in Ar with this meaning. But cf. حِذَاءٌ = *opposite, in front of* (La i. 537 a).]

דבח Ezr 6 : 3. [Cf. BH זבח, Ar ذَبَحَ, Targ דבח, Syr ܕܒܚ.]

מדנח Eut 15 : 5 (N). [Cf. BH מזרח, Targ מדנחא, Syr ܡܕܢܚܐ. Probably not in Ar.[2]]

[1] The prosthetic א is to be noted. Here, however, BH has the word both with and without the א, just as BA, two occurrences with the א being found, viz., Jer 32 : 31, Jb 31 : 22. Further instances of prosthetic א may be found in BA in אשתיו Dn 5 : 3. 4 (ct. שתא NSI 61 : 9 (Zenj) and שתין AP 30 : 21 (EP)) and אצבע Dn 5 : 5 (ct. צבע AP 26 : 20 (EP). Here both Ar and Targ have prosthetic, while Syr does not. Thus إِصْبَعٌ, אצבעא but ܨܒܥܐ). The Zenjirli inscriptions provide some instances of prosthetic א in the following words: אגם NSI 62 : 5 (ct. גם 61 : 8), אסנב NSI 62 : 6 (ct. סנב CIS ii. 7 a (Nin)) and אשם (= إِسْمٌ) NSI 61 : 16. 21 (ct. שם in BA Ner Arab EP and P). אבן CIS ii. 470 (N), Eut^{S} 113 : 2, 175, CIS ii. 1328 : 2 (S) is a further Arabism employing the prosthetic (= إِبْنٌ). Hoffmann finds a further example in אספרן CIS ii. 108 (Abyd), which he regards as = צפרן (*vide ZA* xi. p. 235 f.). Others, however, give the word a Persian derivation, and connect with אספרנא Ezr 5 : 8, though Torrey pronounces against this connexion (ES p. 174). The Nabataean and Palmyrene inscriptions provide a number of instances of Greek words to which prosthetic א has been attached, as אסרתגא NSI 91 : 2 (N), אצרתגא Vog^{N} 7 a : 2 (N), ארהומיא CIS ii. 161 III : 2 (N) and אסטרטג NSI 121 : 2 (P), אכסנא NSI 122 : 4 (P) אסטרבילא Tar 2 c : 15 (P), אסטרטורא NSI 122 : 4 (P), אסטוא ESE ii. p. 305 Ka : 1 (P).

[2] We find in Arabic ذَرَّاحٌ *cantharis* (red insect), ذرّح *put cantharides into food*, and أَحْمَرُ ذَرِيحِيٌّ *bright red* (La i. 959 c, 960 a), pointing perhaps to an original meaning for the root *be red* (cf. Nöldeke in *ZDMG* xl. (1886), pp. 727 f.). Sometimes, too, ذَرِيح, the name of a god, probably of the rising sun, is connected with מזרח (so Nöldeke in *ZDMG* xli. (1887), p. 713, and Wellhausen in *Reste arab. Heid.*, 2nd ed. (1897), p. 65). The connexion is, however, doubtful. In Assyrian we find *zarahu* = *rise*, and this should give خ in Arabic. It is true there are many exceptions, where ح is found (cf. Nö. in *ZDMG* xl.

כדב Dn 2 : 9. [Cf. BH כזב, Ar كَذَبَ, Targ כדב, Syr ܟܕܰܒ.]

אדין Ezr 4 : 9, Dn 2 : 14. [Cf. BH אז, אזי, Ar إِذًا, Targ הידין, Syr ܗܘܿܕܝܼܢ.]

אחד CIS ii. 234 : 2 (N).[1] [Cf. BH אחז, Ar أَخَذَ, Targ אחד, Syr ܐܲܚܰܕ.]

עדר NSI 114 : 3 (P). [Cf. BH עזר, Ar. عَذَرَ, Targ עדר, Syr ܥܕܰܪ.]

דנה Jer 10 : 11, Ezr 4 : 11, Dn 2 : 18, Eut 3 : 1 (N), Eut^{S} 410 (S), Tar 2 a : 14 (P) and very commonly throughout these groups.

דא Dn 4 : 27, CIS ii. 176 : 1 (N), Eut^{S} 463 (S), Vog 71 : 2 (P).

די Jer 10 : 11, Ezr 6 : 8, Dn 2 : 11, Eut 1 : 1 (N), CIS ii. 499 : 2 (S), Vog 3 : 1 (P), and very commonly;

but on the other hand:

זהב NSI 62 : 11 (Zenj), AP 30 : 12 (EP), IS 61 : 3 (Mesop).

זכר (*remember*) NSI 61 : 16 (Zenj), AP Aḥ : 53 (EP).

זכר (*male*) NSI 61 : 30 (Zenj) (?).

זחל ESE iii. p. 3 a : 13 (ZKR).

זבח NSI 61 : 15 (Zenj).

אז (probably = *then*) NSI 61 : 7, 62 : 9 (Zenj) and אזי AUA i. : 6 (Ass).[2]

אחז NSI 61 : 3 (Zenj), 65 : 4 (Ner), AUA i. : 5. 6 (Ass).

עזר AP 71 : 23 (EP), AUA i. : 13 (Ass).

זנה ESE iii. p. 3 a : 2. 17 (ZKR), NSI 62 : 22 (Zenj), 64 : 3 (Ner), Tax : 6 (India),[3] NSI 69 : 22 (Arab), 68 : 6 (Cilicia), Sard : 2 (Lydia), AP 30 : 15 (EP) and very commonly.

pp. 727 f., and GVG i. 127 f.) but Meissner (*Kurzgefasste Assyrische Grammatik*, p. 6) states that Assyrian *ḫ* may stand for ح when the root contains a sharp sibilant or a liquid and a mute. This would seem to rule out the equation *zaraḫu* = ذرح.

[1] Cowley finds this root in Sard : 3, where he reads אחזוה = אחד (*vide CRAI* 1921, p. 11 f. So, too, Littmann, Lidz. and Cook). Torrey, however, reads אחר and renders *descendants* (*vide AJSL* xxxiv. p. 194). If Cowley is right, we must note this occurrence of ד in an inscription which elsewhere employs ז. (Cowley refers also to the Lycian inscription CIS ii. 109, where, however, CIS and SAC regard as unusual form of חד, while Sachau reads אחר (*vide SKAW* cxiv. p. 5).)

[2] So Lidz. reads in AUA. But differently in his earlier edition in *ZA* xxxi.

[3] So Cowley reads.

זא NSI 61 : 18 (Zenj), 64 : 12 (Ner), 69 : 13 (Arab), CIS ii. 129 : 1 (Egy), AP 71 : 14 (EP), AUA i. : 8 (Ass).

זי ESE iii. p. 3 a : 1 (ZKR), NSI 61 : 1 (Zenj), 64 : 14 (Ner), CIS ii. 1 (Nin), AI 2 (Bab), Gir^{T} 2 : 5, CIS ii. 122 : 3 (Egy), AP 30 : 1 (EP), NSI 69 : 3 (Arab), 68 : 2 (Cilicia), Sard : 3 (Lydia), ESE i. p. 67 t : 3 (Capp) and very commonly.

There are, however, some exceptions to this general usage, and R. D. Wilson has stated the facts in this connexion with surprising inaccuracy. He says[1] that the Papyri use זי or ד 'with almost equal frequency'. As a matter of fact, apart from Proper Names, the Papyri can muster only some fifty occurrences of ד, even when given the benefit of many doubtful instances, as against more than ten times that number of occurrences of זי. Particularly impressive is the difference in the case of the Demonstrative and Relative Pronouns, דנה occurring but once and די three times, as against זנה at least seventy-eight times, and זי some four hundred times. In view of these facts, it is difficult to understand how Wilson came to say 'with almost equal frequency'.

G. R. Driver traces[2] the beginnings of the appearance of ד. He points out that the earliest instance in the Papyri of the Relative or Demonstrative with ד dates from 447 B.C.[3] The earliest instance he quotes of any word with ד is דהב, which is found in a document of 456 B.C., and he argues that the years 460 to 410 B.C. constituted the period of transition. He would seem, however, to have overlooked מאחד, which is found in AP 2 : 17, a document dated 484 B.C. Since but one document bears a date earlier than this, it would seem precarious to define the period of transition more narrowly than the whole period covered by the Papyri. Since no less than seventeen of the occurrences of ד are found in the Aḥiḳar Papyri, which date from the second half of the fifth century, and ten in the Behistun Papyri, which

[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 278.

[2] *JBL*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 113 f.

[3] Sachau and Ungnad found the Demonstrative in AP 10 : 23, dating from 456 B.C. Cowley, however, declares this to be certainly incorrect, and suggests with much probability that we have here the absolute of דנת, found in the Assyrian inscriptions.

Cowley dates from about 420 B.C., constituting together half of the total occurrences of ד, we may fairly conclude that there was a tendency for ד to become more common, especially since nine of the remaining instances are found in documents dated after 420 B.C.

The occurrences of ד in Egyptian Aramaic are here collected:

אחד AP 2: 17 (484 B.C.), 69 A: 3 (no date), Aḥ: 99.[1] 171, Beh: 1. 6. 11. 14. 34, APO 56 No. 4: 5[2] (Behistun fragment).[3]

כדב AP 8: 17 (460 B.C.), Aḥ: 132. 133 *bis.* 134, Beh 50. 51 *bis.* 56.

דהב AP 10: 9 (456 B.C.).

אדין AP 14: 4 (441 B.C.), 20: 1 (420 B.C.), 25: 1 (416 B.C.), 35 A: 1 (*c.* 400 B.C.), 68: 2. 4 (no date), Aḥ: 127.

דכר (*male*[4]) AP 15: 17. 20 (*c.* 441 B.C.).

דבח AP 30: 26. 28, 31: 25. 27 (408 B.C.), 32: 3. 10 (*c.* 408 B.C.).

דחל AP 37: 7 (no date), Aḥ: 45. 54.

עדר AP Aḥ: 99. 126. 167.

דנח AP Aḥ: 138.

אדן AP Aḥ: 97. 132. 157. 216. [Cf. BH אזן, Ar أُذُن, Targ אודנא, Syr ܐܘܕܢ.]

דרע S–C Mb: 4. 5 (Oxford Ostrakon).[5]

[1] Sachau (APO p. 163) read אחדי twice, but admitted the interpretation was difficult. Ungnad (APE p. 71) read אחרי in both places. Preferable is the reading of Cowley, which has אחדי for the former occurrence, and אחרי for the latter. It should be further noted that in AP 38: 4, where Cowley reads אחרן, Sachau gives the possible reading אחדן, which he would connect with this root, but admits the reading would be difficult.

[2] This fragment is also reprinted in Cowley's edition (AP p. 266), to which references are usually given in the present study for all the Elephantine Papyri, save where, as here, they are not arranged conveniently for reference.

[3] Epstein (*ZAW* xxxii. (1912), p. 130) finds this root in [ו]אתחד (AP 34: 4), but this is very uncertain, and other editors complete the word differently.

[4] The root דכר = *remember* is probably not found. In APO 38, 46 b: 3 Sachau reads דכרן, but very doubtfully. Cowley reads כברן (AP 50: 9). It should also be noted that Sachau (APO p. 46) suggests that המדכריא of AP 26: 4. 23 (412 B.C.), may consist of the Hebrew article and a noun from the root דכר = *remember*. Much more probable is the view of Cowley, that it is a Persian title, compounded with *-kar*.

[5] Lidz., however, in ESE ii. p. 240, questions this view, and follows Clermont-Ganneau in suggesting *door* = תרע. In this case, for the substitution of ד for ת, cf. נדש AP 27: 5. 24 *et al.* (EP) = BH נתש, Targ נתש, Syr ܢܬܫ.

דנה AP 16 : 9 (435 B.C.).[1]
דכא AP 14 : 6 (441 B.C.).
דכי AP 14 : 9 (441 B.C.).
די with prep. ל in דיל AP 13 : 7. 11. 16 (447 B.C.).

We may note, further, that in IS 60, which Pognon dates *c.* 200 B.C., we find הרן,[2] and in IS 61 : 3, which he dates slightly later, we find די side by side with זהב,[3] in inscriptions from Mesopotamia, while in the late Aramaic text in cuneiform from Uruk, which Thureau-Dangin dates from the Seleucid period, we also find the Relative די. We should further note that in the Sardis inscription, which dates from 455 or 394 B.C., the root ברר is found in line 8 (cf. BH בזר, Ar بَذَرَ, Targ ברר, Syr ܒܕܪ). Elsewhere in this inscription we find זי and זנה.[4]

R. D. Wilson is again misleading in his statement of the exceptions on the other side. He says[5] that the Nabataeans wavered in their usage. S. R. Driver cites[6] two early Nabataean inscriptions, in which זי is found, viz. CIS ii. 349 and NPF 90 : 1, the former dating most probably from 70 B.C., and the latter possibly from 90 B.C. In the latter, די and דנה are found alongside זי. To these should now be added the Khalasa inscription, published in the PEF Annual Volume, 1914–15, p. 145. This is perhaps the oldest Nabataean inscription we possess, dating from 96 B.C. In lines 2 and 5 זי occurs, and in line 1 זנה. Apart from these few[7] early examples, Nabataean consistently uses ד, save

[1] In AP 10 : 23 (456 B.C.), Sachau and Ungnad find the Demonstrative. But see note in AP.

[2] See IS p. 111.

[3] Pognon places a query beside this, however, indicating some doubt on the point.

[4] In *PSBA* xxxv. (1913), p. 192, Sayce gives a reading of the first few words of an inscription found near Tarsus, till then unpublished, in which he reads לדכר alongside זנה. More recently, however, Torrey has published this inscription in *JAOS* xxxv. (1915–17), pp. 370–4, with facsimile, giving a different reading for לדכר.

[5] *Loc. cit.*, p. 279.

[6] LOT p. xxxv. f., note.

[7] Baumgartner (*ZAW loc. cit.*, p. 95) incorrectly states that ד is found in only one of the oldest Nabataean inscriptions.

once only, where we find זכיר, instead of the usual דכיר, viz. J-S ii. (1914) 295.[1]

In Palmyrene, אזור is found in Vog 103 : 5, and this may, perhaps, = עזור.[2] Apart from this one highly doubtful instance, Palmyrene has only ד.

We should not omit to mention that in BA זכו = *innocence*, is found in Dn 6 : 23. With this we may compare זכי = *innocent*, in AP Aḥ : 46 and דכין = *clean*, of AP 21 : 6 and possibly, but very uncertainly, 27 : 12. We may also note the probable[3] occurrence of this root twice in the cuneiform text from Uruk, a : 10, with the meaning *pure*, *innocent*, where ז is used both times. It is by no means sure, however, that we should regard this as an exception, for while we have the series BH זכה, Targ דכא, Syr ܕܟܵܐ, ܙܟܵܐ = *be clean*, we also find the series Ar زَكَا, Targ זכא, Syr ܙܟܵܐ = *be pure*, *innocent*. The Arabic زَكَا, which should correspond with the former of these series, means *be bright* (of fire), *be pungent* (of odour), *be acute* (of mind).[4] In any case, since the form with ז is found in Targumic Aramaic, the complete agreement of Biblical Aramaic with Targumic in the orthography of the group of words under discussion is not affected.

It is interesting to note the shifts to which those writers who would maintain that the Aramaic of Daniel is of the sixth century B. C. are put in their interpretation of these facts. W. St. Clair Tisdall discounts the evidence in advance by referring to it as the 'only point in which a slight exception has

[1] P. 209.

[2] For the interchange of א for ע, cf. ארצתא NSI 64 : 4. 7. 12, 65 : 8 (Ner), which Clermont-Ganneau regards as = ערשתא. The ע would then be here weakened to א to compensate for the strengthening of the ש to צ. (Ct. ערשא in NSE Plate xl. 1 : 2 (P).) Cf., too, אנבר in NSI 65 : 1 (Ner), which may possibly = עכבר, and [שתר]ארדא (where Ass. text has Arad-Ištar) in CIS ii. 17 : 2 (Nin), with which ct. ערדנבו CIS ii. 15. Hoffmann (*ZA* xi. (1896), p. 211) regards אתר in אתרקדשו CIS ii. 312, as = Ar عَتَّر, but CIS takes as = أَثَر. For the softening of ע to א in אע, see below, p. 30 *n*.

[3] So G. R. Driver and Bostrup. Ebeling, however, reads quite differently.

[4] *Vide* La i. 971 a. b, where it is stated that the primary signification of the root is *completeness*.

been detected' to the general agreement of Biblical Aramaic with the Aramaic of the Papyri. It happens to be the one point on which evidence is more copious than any other. Throughout the whole literature, there are innumerable occurrences of the relative and demonstrative pronouns, and since these are amongst the commonest elements of the language, this evidence is of the first importance.

R. D. Wilson appreciates more clearly the seriousness of its weight against his position, as witnessed by the desperate expedient to which he has to turn to rescue his theory from its embarrassment. He suggests that Daniel was a Spelling Reformer, who introduced for the first time the use of ד. He adds:[1] 'Being an educated man, the author used it consistently and exclusively.' This remark might have had more force if the same consistency and exclusiveness had been displayed by this author on all points of orthography.[2] It is clearly not a question of his being an educated Reformer, and since in other respects he reflects the varying usage of his age, it is more natural to assume that he here reflects the consistent usage of his time and locality. Moreover, the course of the supposed reform would appear to have been somewhat chequered. The innovation would seem to have met with very indifferent success amongst the Reformer's own fellow nationals, until the Nabataeans and Palmyrenes took it up with some enthusiasm several centuries after his death. Shyly it raised its head in Egypt more than a century after the death of the supposed Reformer, and not until two centuries later than that did it make its first appearance so near to the place where the reform is supposed to have begun as Hassan Kef. No sign of it appears in the Babylonian dockets of the fifth century B. C., but by the fourth century the fame of the reform had spread to far distant Asia Minor, and a beginning, albeit a modest one, had been made in the introduction of the reformed spelling.

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 279.

[2] Cf., e.g., מלכא Dn 2 : 4 and מלכה 2 : 11; מלתא 2 : 8 and מלתה 2 : 5; מטא 4 : 25 and מטה 7 : 13; אלן 2 : 44 and אלין 2 : 40; התגזרת 2 : 34 and אתגזרת 2 : 45.

W. St. Clair Tisdall has a precisely opposite way out of the difficulty. Instead of supposing that Daniel consistently used ד long before such usage was common, he boldly proposes to assume that Daniel consistently used ז, but that in a later age his book was revised in harmony with the then current usage. Batten makes precisely the same suggestion[1] in regard to the text of Ezra. This, of course, is not to argue on the basis of the evidence, but to brush the evidence aside. It is instructive to observe, however, that while the one defender of the authenticity of Daniel maintains that the Aramaic of Daniel, as we have it, must have been Babylonian, and of the sixth century B. C., the other recognizes that, at least as we have it now, it cannot be of that age and provenance. Moreover, we are constrained to ask how it came about that this hypothetical scribal revision, while so complete in so far as the substitution of ד for ז is concerned, did not also bring up to date the pronominal suffixes in Ezra. And how did it happen that the repeated copying of Jer 10 : 11 left ארקא and ארעא standing side by side, precisely as in AP 6? The modernization of the text would not seem to be quite so inevitable as Batten claims. That the text of the Old Testament has often suffered scribal alteration is a commonplace, but that an enthusiastic scribe decided to modernize the text of the Aramaic sections of Daniel and Ezra on one point only is as improbable an assumption as Wilson's theory that Daniel was the founder of a Reformed Spelling Society.[2]

We must not omit, however, to examine the theories which Boutflower advances to meet the difficulty. That writer must be recognized to be not behind R. D. Wilson and Tisdall in the

[1] *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah* (1913), p. 22.

[2] It is to be observed that while some writers attribute the uniform adoption of the later usage on this point to scribal enthusiasm, others attribute the confusion of final א and ה to scribal slackness (cf. Mont. *Dan.* p. 18, Wilson, *loc. cit.*, p. 277). Both assumptions are gratuitous and unnecessary. It is strangely significant that in both uniformity and inconsistency the present text reflects what must have been the usage of Palestine in the third or second century B.C., and it must remain a serious weakness to any theory which prefers to posit an unbalanced and inefficient scribal interference with the text in order to remove it from the age whose usage it follows.

boldness of the hypothesis he proposes. He goes beyond Wilson, indeed, and maintains not only that Daniel, living in the sixth century, might have used ד, but that this usage 'was really in vogue long before the era of Daniel'.[1] For evidence of this he adduces the cuneiform transcription of the name Hadadezer in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser II. For this suggestion he is indebted to R. D. Wilson, but that scholar was aware of the essential slenderness of this evidence, and preferred to set it aside for the quite incompatible theory that ד was an innovation introduced by Daniel, regarding his book as the 'first known document to use the sign *d*'. We need not here discuss the particular point of the cuneiform transcription of this Aramaic name, as G. R. Driver has already done so.[2] We may, however, express our surprise that Boutflower should accept this precarious and indirect evidence from the Assyrian cuneiform as to the early Aramaic orthography of the ninth century B. C., when the direct testimony of the Aramaic inscriptions until a much later date, both from Syria and from Assyria, is in unequivocal conflict with his theory.

To these mutually conflicting theories, Boutflower adds two more, neither of which is fortunate enough to be in harmony with the facts. He suggests that *d* and *z* sprang independently out of the *dh* sound, and quotes from an unnamed writer, who says 'It is impossible to suggest that in Aramaic the *dh* first became *z* and then changed to *d*'. It is sufficient to reply that in the Aramaic papyri we are enabled to witness the actual progress of this change which is declared to be so beyond the bounds of possibility.

The final theory this writer puts forward is that the *d* was used 'where the pure Aramaic was spoken, such as the Syrian kingdom of Damascus, whilst the *z* found in the early inscriptions from North Syria and on the business dockets from Nineveh, is due to contact with the Hebrew and Phoenician'.[3] It is unfortunate for this theory that what Boutflower calls the pure Aramaic is completely unrepresented in early Aramaic inscriptions, but that whether from North Syria, Assyria, Babylonia, India, Arabia, Egypt, Cilicia, Sardis, or Cappadocia, they show the alleged influence of

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 238. [2] *JBL, loc. cit.*, pp. 114 f. [3] *Op. cit.*, p. 239.

Phoenician or Hebrew with striking unanimity. And it is passing strange that we first meet with this pure Aramaic, being delivered from the contamination of Hebrew influence, amongst the Jewish colony in Egypt, and in the books of Daniel and Ezra! It may be that Boutflower finds this theory satisfying. It is certain that it will win few converts.

(2) Before we endeavour a more positive evaluation of the facts to which attention has been directed, we will continue our investigation of the consonantal changes which are found in the dialects under review.

When Hebrew שׁ corresponds to the Arabic ث, it ordinarily appears in Targumic Aramaic as ת.[1] Biblical Aramaic agrees with this Targumic usage, as also do the dialects of the Nabataean and Palmyrene inscriptions and of the Papyri. The Aramaic of Zenjirli, Nerab, and Assyria, on the other hand, employs שׁ in such cases. We select the following examples in illustration of the usage:

אתר Ezr 5 : 15, Dn 2 : 35, AP 32 : 8 (EP), NSI 68 : 6 (Cilicia), 94 : 3 (N), and in באתר Dn 7 : 6. 7 and בתר Dn 2 : 39, Tar 2 b : 45 (P). [Cf. Targ אתר, בתר, Syr ܐܬܪ, ܒܬܪ. And cf. BH אֲשׁוּר, אֲשֵׁר, Ar إِثْر.]

תרע (*gate*) Dn 2 : 49, AP 30 : 9 (EP), NSI 98 : 3 (N).[2] Cf. also תרע (*porter*) Ezr 7 : 24. [Cf. BH שׁער, Ar ثَغْر, Targ תרעא, Syr ܬܪܥܐ.]

תלג Dn 7 : 9. [Cf. BH שׁלג, Ar ثَلْج, Targ תלגא, Syr ܬܠܓܐ.]

איתי or איתי Ezr 5 : 17, Dn 2 : 10, AP 9 : 3 (EP), NSI 86 : 2 (N), Tar 2 c : 25 (P). [Cf. BH יֵשׁ, Targ איתי, Syr ܐܝܬ. Ar irregularly with س in أَيْسَ, used only in a few proverbial expressions in conjunction with لَيْسَ (*vide* La i. 2685 a. b. Cf., too, ליש *infra*).]

תרין Ezr 6 : 17, Dn 4 : 26, AP 26 : 8 (EP), NSI 96 : 6 (N) and

[1] Cf. Wr[CG] p. 55 f., Dr[T] p. 228; GVG i. p. 128, KVG p. 50 f.

[2] Note, too, that Clermont-Ganneau and Lidz. find this word with ד substituted for ת in S-C Mb : 4. 5; *v. s.* p. 20 *n.*

תרתן or תרתין Dn 6 : 1, AP Ah : 92 (EP), NSI 96 : 1 (N), Vog 95 : 2 (P). [Cf. BH שנים, שתים, Ar إِثْنَانِ, إِثْنَتَانِ, Targ תרין, תרתין, Syr ܬܪܝܢ, ܬܪܬܝܢ.]

תלת Dn 7 : 5, Eut 4 : 9 (N), Vog 6 : 4 (P) and תלתא or תלתה Ezr 6 : 4, Dn 7 : 24, Eut^{s} 457 (S), AP 26 : 10 (EP). [Cf. BH שלש, Ar ثَلَاثٌ, Targ תלתא, Syr ܬܠܬܐ.]

תלתין Dn 6 : 8. 13, NSI 86 : 9 (N).

שת Ezr 6 : 15, Dn 3 : 1, NSI 96 : 6 (N) and שתא or שתה AP 43 : 3 (EP), Vog 8 : 4 (P). [Cf. BH שש, Targ שית, Syr ܫܬ. The Arabic, however, is سِتٌّ, with ت and not ث; probably this is through mutual assimilation from an original سدث.]

שתין or שתן Ezr 6 : 3, Dn 3 : 1, AP 26 : 12 (EP), CIS ii. 271 : 5? (N).

תמונא Eut 16 : 4 (N) and תמוניא NSI 144 : 7, Tar 2 a : 48 (P). [Cf. BH שמנה, Ar ثَمَانٍ, Targ תמני, Syr ܬܡܢܝ.]

תמנין AP 26 : 10. 14 (EP).

תוב Ezr 6 : 5, Dn 4 : 33, AP 15 : 23 (EP). [Cf. BH שוב, Ar ثَابَ, Targ תוב, Syr ܬܘܒ.]

תור Ezr 6 : 9, Dn 4 : 22. [Cf. BH שור, Ar ثَوْرٌ, Targ תורא, Syr ܬܘܪܐ.]

תבר AP Ah : 106 (EP). [Cf. BH שבר, Ar ثَبَرَ, Targ תבר, Syr ܬܒܪ.]

יתב AP 6 : 2 (EP). [Cf. BH ישב, Targ יתיב, Syr ܝܬܒ. Ar وَثَبَ has a different meaning, however, and = *leap*, but in Himyaritic the root means *sit* (*vide* La i. 2919 c).]

תמה Ezr 5 : 17, Gir^{T} 3 : 8, 5 : 6, 8 : 6, CIS ii. 141 : 2? (Egy), AP 5 : 4 (EP). [Cf. BH שם, Ar ثَمَّ, Targ תמן, Syr ܬܡܗ.]

דתא Dn 4 : 12. [Cf. BH דשא, Targ דיתאא, Syr ܕܬܐ, with metathesis. Not in Ar, but cf. דثא in ESE ii. p. 42, line 12, in Old North Arabic (Safatenic).]

אנתתא AP 7 : 9 (EP), NSI 84 : 3 (N) and אתתא AP 34 : 3 (EP), CIS ii. 194 : 3 (N), Vog 33 a : 4 (P) and איתא Tar 2 a : 46 (P). [Cf. BH אשה, Ar أُنْثَى, Targ אנתתא, אתתא, איתא, Syr ܐܢܬܬܐ.]

אתרתא or אתרתא Sard : 3 (Lydia) ;[1]

but on the other hand :

אשר NSI 62 : 18 (Zenj), 64 : 8 (Ner) and in באשר NSI 61 : 27. 32 (Zenj).

ליש NSI 63 : 16 (Zenj). [Cf. BH לא יש, Targ לית, Syr ܠܝܬ. Ar لَيْسَ, irregularly.]

שלשא CIS ii. 3 c (Nin).

שלשן NSE Plate xxiv. 3 : 2 (Zenj).

ישב NSI 63 : 5 (Zenj).

שם NSI 61 : 8 (Zenj).

אשת CIS ii. 15 (Ass).

The only exceptions we have to notice here are the use of תוב once in the political letter of the time of Ashurbanipal (AUA i. : 11), and the frequent use of שקל in the Papyri. For the verb we find תקל in the Papyri, exactly as in Daniel, e.g., AP 15 : 24, 71 : 6, Dn 5 : 27, while מתקלת is found in AP 26 : 21, 28 : 11. On the other hand תקל = *shekel* is found but once in the Papyri, in AP 10 : 5, while שקל is found in AP 10 : 3, 15 : 5. 6. 8. 10. 11. 12 *bis*. 13. 14. 24, 22 : 122, 29 : 6, 35 : 9. c 3, 36 : 2. 3. b 1. 2, 43 : 3, 67 No. 16 : 1, and there are numerous cases where the abbreviation ש appears. So far as this word is concerned, therefore, the common practice of the Papyri is in harmony with that of the inscriptions of Zenjirli and of Nineveh, where also we find שקל, e.g. NSI 62 : 6 *ter* (Zenj), CIS ii. 13 a, 14, 43 : 4 (Nin). It seems probable that the word שקל (*shekel*) was a loan-word from Babylonian,[2] and this may perhaps explain the persistence of the ש. Later, it was treated like other words in this class. Thus, probably, in Dn 5 : 25 תקל = *shekel*,[3] as regularly in the Targums.

(3) Again, where Hebrew צ corresponds with Arabic ظ, the

[1] According to Cowley = BH אשרה or אשרה. But others differently.

[2] Cf. Zimmern, KAT pp. 648 f., and AF (1917), pp. 21, 23.

[3] So Bev (*Dan.* p. 106), Pr (*Dan.* p. 112 f.), Haupt (in Kamp. *Dan.* p. 28), Dr (*Dan.* p. 69), and Marti (*Dan.* p. 40 f.), following Clermont-Ganneau (*JA* viii. (1886), pp. 36–67). Behrmann (*Dan.* p. 37), however, rejects this, as also does Torrey (*TCA* xv. (1909), pp. 276–80), and following them, Mont (*Dan.* p. 262 f.).

later Aramaic of the Targums ordinarily has ט.[1] In the texts under review, we find that the inscriptions of Zenjirli and Nerab agree with the Hebrew usage, while Biblical Aramaic, the Papyri, Nabataean and Palmyrene, all agree with the Targumic usage. Instances, however, are very few, save in Daniel and the Papyri. The following examples may be noted:

יעט Ezr 7:14, Dn 2:14, AP Aḥ: 12 (EP). [Cf. BH יעץ, Ar وَعَظَ, Targ יעט.]

טלל Dn 4:9, AP 30:11, 71:15 (EP), Vog 8:5 (P). [Cf. BH צלל, Ar ظَلَّ. And cf. Targ טללא, Syr ܛܠܠܐ.]

קיט Dn 2:35. [Cf. BH קיץ, Ar قَيْظٌ, Targ קיטא, Syr ܩܝܛܐ.]

טור Dn 2:35, CIS ii. 350:2 (N), AP Aḥ: 62 (EP). [Cf. BH צור, Targ טורא, Syr ܛܘܪܐ, but Ar طُورٌ. This word is probably loaned to Arabic from Aramaic, and hence ط instead of ظ. It is used of Mount Sinai, the Mount of Olives, and some other Biblical names. *Vide* La i. 1890 b.]

טפר Dn 4:30. [Cf. BH צפרן, Ar ظُفُرٌ, Targ טפר, טופרא, Syr ܛܦܪܐ.]

נטר Dn 7:28, AP Aḥ: 160 (EP). [Cf. BH נצר, and, less commonly, נטר, Ar نَظَرَ, Targ נטר, Syr ܢܛܪ.]

טביא AP Aḥ: 120 (EP). (Cf. BH צבי, Ar ظَبْيٌ, Targ טביא, Syr ܛܒܝܐ.]

חטא AP Aḥ: 126. 128 (EP). [Cf. BH חץ, Ar حَظْوَةٌ.]

לוט Vog 95:2 (P). [Cf. Targ לוט, Syr ܠܘܛ. This root may possibly be connected with BH לוץ, לוץ = *scorn*.[2] The Arabic لَاظَ, however, which should correspond with this, is rare, and means *be difficult* (cf. Frey iv. 136 a). Alternatively, however, לוט may be connected with BH לוט = *wrap up*, whence לטים = *secret arts* (Ex. 7:22). Cf. Ar لَاطَ = *stick to*.]

[1] *Vide* Wr[CG] p. 61, Dr[T] p. 225, GVG i. p. 128 f., KVG p. 50 f.

[2] BDB, however, suggests that BH לוץ is connected with Ar لَاصَ = *turn aside*, which should give לוץ in Aramaic.

but on the other hand:

רוץ NSI 63 : 8 (Zenj).
כיצא[1] NSI 63 : 19 (Zenj).
נצר NSI 64 : 12. 13 (Ner).

(4) Hebrew צ, when it corresponds with Arabic ض, normally appears in Aramaic as ע.[2] The Aramaic of Zenjirli, Assyria, Babylonia, and Asia Minor uses ק in these cases, while Ezra, Daniel, and the Nabataean and Palmyrene inscriptions employ ע. Jer. 10 : 11 has both, as also have the Papyri, where, however, ק greatly predominates. The following examples may be selected:

ארעא Jer 10 : 11, Ezr 5 : 11, Dn 2 : 35, AP 6 : 16, and five times else in EP. [Cf. BH ארץ, Ar أَرْضٌ, Targ ארעא, Syr ܐܪܥܐ.]

אע Ezr 5 : 8, Dn 5 : 4. [Cf. BH עץ, Ar غِضَةٌ, Targ אע.]

עלע[3] Dn 7 : 5, AP Ah : 106 (EP). [Cf. BH צלע, Ar ضِلَعٌ, Targ עילעא, Syr ܥܠܥܐ.]

ערע[3] AP p. 269 No. 3 : 6 (EP). [Cf. Ar عَرَضَ, Targ^{O} ערע, Targ^{J} ארע, Syr ܐܪܥ. Not in BH.]

ענא Tar 2 c : 46 (P). [Cf. BH צאן, Ar ضَأْنٌ, Targ ענא, Syr ܥܢܐ.]

עמרא[4] Dn 7 : 9, AP 15 : 7. 10 (EP), Tar 2 b : 43 (P). [Cf. BH צמר, Targ עמרא, Syr ܥܡܪܐ.]

[1] Note that כ replaces ק, by dissimilation. Cf. GVG i. p. 239. Further instances we find are: כטל NSI 64 : 11 (Ner), with which ct. קטל Dn 2 : 13, AP 30 : 17 (EP) and קתל NSI 62 : 8 (Zenj); and כרצא CIS ii. 141 : 2 (Carp st), with which ct. קרצא Dn 3 : 8. Possibly also כצפה AP Ah : 101 (EP) is for קצפה, כשיטא *ibid.* : 158 for קשיטא, and כצר *ibid.* : 127 for קצר. (See, however, G. R. Driver's note in *JTS* xxv. p. 302, and note that Ungnad alternatively reads כצד, and connects with Ar قَصَدَ.) Cf. also the Proper Names קשטו Eut^{S} 599 (S) and כשיטו ESE ii. p. 265 Ha(N). Littmann also adduces (*Nabataean Inscriptions*, p. xxv) קיסר Litt. 27 : 2 (N) and כיצר CIS ii. 427 (N), but Lidz. pronounces against Littmann's reading in the latter passage. See ESE iii. p. 295.

[2] Cf. Wr^{CG} p. 61, Dr^{T} p. 222, GVG i. p. 128 f., KVG p. 50 f.

[3] We commonly find that when ע occurs twice in an Aramaic word, one of the occurrences corresponding to Ar ض and BH צ, the first is weakened to א, as in אע above. (Cf. Wr^{CG} p. 62.) Where, however, as in these two words, the two 'Ayins stand in different syllables, Targumic Aramaic does not dissimilate, while Syriac does. (Cf. GVG i. p. 241, KVG p. 110.)

[4] Ct. עמרא, in NSI 121 : 6 (P), for which cf. Ar عَمَرَ.

רבעתא[1] CIS ii. 160: 1, ESE ii. p. 256 T: 1, Litt 71: 1 (N). [Cf. BH רבץ, Ar رَبَضَ, Targ רבע, Syr ܪܒܥ.]

רעע Dn 2: 40. [Cf. BH רצץ and, more rarely, רעע, Ar رَضَّ, Targ רעע, Syr ܪܥܥ.]

רחע APO 63 No. 1 *auss*: 3 (EO). [Cf. BH רחץ, Ar رَحَضَ. Apparently this is the only occurrence of this root in Aramaic.]

מרע (*sickness*) CIS ii. 150: 1. 3[2] (EP). [Cf. BH מרץ, Ar مَرِضَ, Targ מרע, Syr ܡܪܥ.]

מועא (from יעא) AP 8: 4 and 5 times else in EP. [Cf. BH יצא, Targ יעא, Syr ܝܥܐ. Ar وَضُؤَ has a different sense, = *be beautiful* or *clean*, but Sabean وצא = *go out* (*vide* BDB p. 422).]

רעו (*will, pleasure*) Ezr 5: 17 and רעיון (*thought*) Dn 2: 29. [Cf. BH רצה, רצון, and late רעיון, Ar رَضِيَ, Targ רעא, Syr ܪܥܐ.]

עקף AP 11: 8 (EP). [Possibly to be connected with Ar ضَعَفَ, with hardening of the second ע by dissimilation. Cf. Syr. ܥܥ and ܥ̈ܥ̈ܦ, with softening of the first ע by dissimilation.[3]]

but on the other hand:

ארקא Jer 10: 11, ESE iii. p. 4 b: 26 (ZKR), NSI 63: 4 (Zenj), CIS ii. 2 a (Nin), AI 5 (Bab), ESE i. p. 323 A: 3. 5 (Capp), AP 6: 5 and 20 times else in EP.

עק ESE iii. p. 21 Ab: 3 (EO), AP 20: 5 and 11 times else in EP.

ערק AP Beh: 4. 10. 31 (EP).[4]

קנא AI 33 (Bab), AP 33: 10 (EP).[5]

[1] So de Vogüé in CIS, followed by Lidz. in ESE ii. p. 256. Littmann, however, follows Clermont-Ganneau in deriving from ארבע = *four*, and connects with ארבענא Litt 2: 1, which he renders *square building*. See note in Littmann, and cf., too, rendering of רבעתא = *square stele*, in SAC.

[2] So CIS. But reading and interpretation very doubtful. Cf. AP 75.

[3] So Baneth (*OLZ* xxii. col. 55 f. note) and Cowley.

[4] Lidz. recognizes (AUA p. 11 f.) a possibility that קרק in AUA i.: 9. 13. 17. 18 may be connected with Ar عَرَضَ, with hardening of the initial ע, but prefers to connect it with Mand. קרקל. Baneth, however, equates it with Ar عَرَقَ, Syr ܥܪܩ.

[5] So Lidz (ESE iii. p. 242 *n.*) and Cowley. Sachau and Ungnad take otherwise.

קמרא AP 20 : 5, 36 : 3, 42 : 9 (EP), APO 63 No. 5 : 3 (EO).
מוקא (from יקא) NSI 62 : 13. 14 (Zenj).
רקי (= *be pleased*) NSI 61 : 13. 18. 22 (Zenj).

There are, however, a few exceptions, chiefly in Nabataean, where צ is found, as in Hebrew. It is to be noted, however, that some of these cases are very doubtful. Thus we find :

שיציא Ezr 6 : 15. (Probably Shaphel is a loan-word from Assyrian, and hence the retention of the צ. The Targums also retain the צ in this loan formation. Cf. Zimmern, AF p. 70.)

פצין CIS ii. 350 : 5 (N). [Cf. BH פצץ, Ar فَضَّ, Syr ܦܨ.]

צריחא Eut 15 : 3. 4, CIS ii. 350 : 1 *bis* (N). [Cf. BH צריח, Ar ضَرِيحٌ.]

צהותא CIS ii. 350 : 2, 354 : 2 (N). [Lidz (NSE p. 357) regards as = ضَهْوَةٌ. But Cooke (NSI p. 242) connects with Ar صَهْوَةٌ, in which case the צ would be normal. Nöldeke (*vide* NSI, *loc. cit.*) thinks of Syr ܙܗܘܬܐ.]

ארצי Vog 139 : 1 (P). [Possibly Aphel imperative of רצי = BH רצה, Ar رَضِيَ, Targ רעא, Syr ܪܥܐ. So de Vogüé and Mordtmann. But NSE and SAC both table as ארצו, and regard this as a Proper Noun.]

On this group of consonantal changes, Wilson again makes a confused summing up. He cites[1] the irrelevant facts that the Targum of Onkelos writes דערק where Syriac has ܐܶܫܬܰܕܶܐ, that Nabataean has קנם for Phoenician and Hebrew ענש, and that the Samaritan Targum has יעד where Syriac has ܝܰܩܶܕ, and often writes שמק for שמע. All of these stand on an entirely different footing from the group of facts he is examining in the rest of the note. They have no connexion with the normal mutation of Aramaic ע for Hebrew צ where Arabic has ض. By the action of this law, we should expect to find ע in certain words, while we actually find ק in some groups and ע in others. That Nabataean hardens to ק in קנם, where Hebrew has ע, or that Samaritan softens the ק

[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 284.

of יקד (cf. BH יקד, Ar وَقَدَ, Targ יקד, Syr ܝܩܕ) to ע, has nothing at all to do with the case, and the introduction of these facts here merely serves to confuse the issue.

Wilson proceeds, 'It will be seen that Qoph was used to denote this sound from the ninth century B.C. to the ninth century A.D., and Ayin from the fifth century to the present.' This, of course, begs the whole question. The only evidence which Wilson adduces for the use of ק in words belonging to the class affected by the normal philological mutation, from a date later than the fifth century B.C., is found in Mandaean. Had he more correctly stated, however, that ק was used in certain *Eastern* dialects from the ninth century B.C. to the ninth century A.D., to denote this sound, it would hardly have supported his theory of the Eastern origin of the book of Daniel. This, however, would still fail to do justice to all the facts. As with ז and ד, so also here we find that one usage, ק, held anciently, and another usage, ע, is found at a later date, and that while the Papyri have both usages, but predominantly the former, the Aramaic of Ezra and Daniel has exclusively the latter. It is, moreover, again an interesting coincidence that the texts we possess using ק come from places situated at a distance from Palestine, while those employing ע are from the neighbourhood of Palestine. The natural conclusion from this evidence is that Biblical Aramaic dates from a time subsequent to the age of the Papyri, when the then fluctuating usage had become stabilized, and the transition from ק to ע completed. To avoid this conclusion, Wilson again proposes to honour Daniel as a Spelling Reformer, whose reforms once more failed to influence the Aramaic of the people by whom he was surrounded, and for long had but fluctuating influence on his fellow nationals in the West, but first came fully into their own among the Palmyrenes in the West—an interesting, but scarcely probable, theory.

(5) Hebrew שׁ (= Arabic ش) usually appears in Aramaic as ס.[2] The Aramaic of Nerab, Babylonia, Assyria, Asia Minor, and

[1] Cf. Wr[CG] p. 59, GVG i. p. 128 f., KVG p. 50 f.

Persia, and of the Papyri, employs ש, save in one or two doubtful cases in the Papyri, where ס stands. Biblical Aramaic normally employs ש, but in a few cases[1] has ס, while Palmyrene shows a stronger tendency to substitute ס. Nabataean employs ש in its only example. Our other texts provide no examples.[2] Thus we have in our texts:[3]

סבר Dn 7 : 25. [Cf. late BH שׂבר, Targ סבר, Syr ܣܒܪ. G. B. Gray would connect with Ar سَبَرَ = *probe a wound, examine* = BH שׂבר, *inspect, examine*, which, however, BDB differentiates from שׂבר, Pi. = *hope*, saying the connexion of this root with Aram סבר is improbable. G–B identifies the two, and

[1] It should be noted that there are a few cases where some MSS give the reading ס while others have ש; thus we find סבכא (Dn 3 : 5), סניאן (Dn 2 : 48), סטר (Dn 7 : 5). Cf. B-L p. 26 f.

[2] Possibly in Sard : 3 we have סגוב, from סגב = שגב. So Cowley. Littmann, Cook, Lidz. and Torrey, however, all read ספרך. Lidz. finds an example from Cilicia of ס = שׂ, in Guzneh : 3, where he reads סנלה (ESE iii. p. 64). Montgomery had read פנלה (*JAOS* xxviii. p. 164) and Halévy פן לה (*RS* xvi. pp. 434 ff.), while more recently Torrey reads יתב]ון לה[(*ZA* xxvi. p. 90 f.).

In the cuneiform text from Uruk, we find this sound represented by ś as in Assyrian. Thus we find ś in the root נשׂא in lines 1. 21. 24. 27. 32 and in שׂמלה in lines 20. 24. 30. 31; perhaps also in כנישׂא in line 12 (so Driver and Bostrup; but Ebeling reads differently).

[3] We find some interchange of ש and ס in words which do not belong to this class, and in some Proper Names. Thus we find: פרש CIS ii. 10 (Nin), as against פרס Dn 5 : 25, NSI 62 : 6 (Zenj), AP 2 : 16 (EP) [cf. BH פרס and rarely פרשׂ, Ar. فَرَسَ, Targ פרסתא, Syr ܦܪܣܐ]; משגרא Litt 38 : 1 (N), if correctly read—but CIS 190 prefers to read the doubtful second letter as ס—as against מסגרא NSI 92 : 1 (N) and often [cf. BH סגר, Ar سَجَرَ, Targ סגר, Syr ܣܓܪ]; שנחאריב AP Ah : 3. 4. 27 as against סנחאריב *ibid.* : 50. 51. 55; שריכו Vog 11 : 1 (P) as against סריכו Vog 26 : 4 (P); נשא ESE i. p. 348 E : 1 (P) as against נסא *ibid.*, p. 207 E : 3 (P); שבא Vog 3 : 1 (P) as against סבא Vog 119 : 1 (P.).

The following instances of ס for שׂ may also be here noted: [מ]רחסון AI 6 (Bab) as against מרחשון AP 30 : 30 (EP), Sard : 1 (Lydia); נפסא Litt 34 : 1 (N), if Littmann's tentative reading is correct, as against נפשא Eut 1 : 1 (N) and commonly; עברעסתור ESE i. p. 75, 3 : 1 (P) as against עשתור Vog 4 : 2 (P).

connects with Ar سَبَرَ. Alternatively, we might connect the latter with Ar شَبِرَ = *exult.*]

סתר Ezr 5 : 12.[1] [Cf. BH שׁתר, Ar شَتَرَ, Targ סתר, Syr ܣܬܪ.]

כסדיא Ezr 5 : 12. [Cf. BH כשׂדים, Targ כסדאי. And cf. Ass. *kaldû* from earlier *kašdu*.]

פגיא Vog 15 : 5 (P). [Cf. BH שׂגיא (in Jb only), Targ סגי, סגיא, Syr ܣܓܝ.]

סהד Vog 15 : 6 (P). [Cf. BH שׂהד (Jb 16 : 19 only), Ar. شَهِدَ, Targ סהד, Syr ܣܗܕ.]

סמלא NSI 144 : 8 (P) and סמליא ESE ii. p. 269 A : 1 (P). [Cf. BH שׂמאל, Ar شِمَالٌ, Targ סמלא, סמאלא, Syr ܣܡܐܠ.]

סכרא ESE i. p. 203 F : 1 (P). [Cf. BH שׂכר, Ar شَكَرَ.]

but on the other hand:

שגיא Ezr 5 : 11, Dn 2 : 6, Gir^{T} 2 : 3. 8 (Egy), AP 30 : 2 (EP), ESE i. p. 67 t : 5 (Capp), Vog 15 : 5 (P).

שתר AP Aḥ : 125 (EP).[2]

כשדיא Dn 2 : 5.

שהד Gen 31 : 47, CIS ii. 35 : 3? (Nin), AUA ii. 1–6 (Ass), AP 5 : 15 and often in EP, Av P : 5 (Persia).

שמלא NSI 143 : 7, ESE ii. p. 272 C : 2 (P).

שכרא Eut^{P} 4 : 2 (P).

בשר Dn 7 : 5, AP Aḥ : 104 (EP). [Cf. BH בשׂר, Ar بَشَرٌ, Targ בסרא, Syr ܒܣܪܐ.]

שהר NSI 64 : 2. 9 (Ner), Guzneh : 4, *JAOS* xxxv. p. 372 t : 5 (Cilicia). [Cf. BH שׂהרון, Ar شَهْرٌ, Targ סיהרא, Syr. ܣܗܪܐ.]

שנא Dn 4 : 16, AP 9 : 8 (EP). [Cf. BH שׂנא, Ar شَنِئَ, Targ סנא, Syr ܣܢܐ.]

שטר Dn 7 : 5, AP 5 : 5 (EP). [Cf. Ar شَطْرٌ, Targ סטרא, Syr ܣܛܪܐ.]

שיב Ezr 5 : 5, AP Aḥ : 17 (EP). [Cf. BH שׂיב, Ar شَابَ, Targ סיב, Syr ܣܝܒ.]

[1] Ct. סתר in Dn 2 : 22, AP Aḥ : 18. 175 (EP), which = BH סתר, Ar سَتَرَ, Targ סתר, Syr ܣܬܪ.

[2] See note in AP p. 240 f.

שער Dn 3 : 27. [Cf. BH שְׂעָר, Ar شَعْرٌ, Targ סערא, שערא, Syr ܫܥܪܐ.]

שים Ezr 5 : 3, Dn 3 : 10, ESE iii. p. 3 a : 1 (ZKR), AP 27 : 21 (EP). [Cf. BH שׂוּם, שִׂים, Ar شَامَ, Targ סום, שום, Syr ܣܡ.]

נשא Ezr 4 : 19, Dn 2 : 35, ESE iii. p. 3 a : 11 (ZKR), AP Aḥ : 90 (EP). [Cf. BH נשׂא, Ar نَشَأَ.]

עשב Dn 4 : 22, Tar 2 c : 24 (P). [Cf. BH עֵשֶׂב, Ar. عُشْبٌ, Targ עסבא, Syr ܥܣܒܐ.]

עשר Ezr 6 : 17, Dn 4 : 26, AP 6 : 15 (EP), Eut 4 : 9 (N), Tar 2 b : 20 (P). [Cf. BH עֶשֶׂר, Ar عَشْرٌ, Targ עסר and עשר, Syr ܥܣܪ.]

שבכא Dn 3 : 7. [Cf. BH שְׂבָךְ, Ar شَبَكَ, Syr ܫܒܟ.]

שידא ESE iii. p. 88, E : 2 (N). [Cf. BH שִׂיד, Ar شِيدٌ, Targ סידא, Syr ܣܝܕܐ.]

שערה NSI 62 : 6 (Zenj), AI 6 (Bab), CIS ii. 38 (Nin), AP 2 : 5 (EP). [Cf. BH שְׂעֹרָה, Ar شَعِيرٌ, Targ סערתא, Syr ܣܥܪܬܐ.]

שכל Dn 7 : 8. (See below, on תסתכל.)

ערשא NSE Plate xl. 1 : 2 (P). [Cf. BH עֶרֶשׂ, Ar عَرْشٌ, Targ ערסא, Syr ܥܪܣܐ.]

The only possible cases of ס found in the Papyri are the following :[1]

יסגה AP Aḥ : 126. (It is highly improbable, however, that this is from the root סגה = שגא. Cowley regards as from the root סגי, found in the Talmud with the meaning *to go*.)

תסהדא AP 71 : 10 = CIS ii. 145 B : 1. (The reading here is doubtful.)

סברת AP 37 : 7. (The reading is not certain, however. APO and APE read differently.)

תסתכל AP Aḥ : 147. (This should perhaps be taken as from סכל, *be foolish* = BH סכל, Targ סכל, Syr ܣܟܠ. Alternatively it may be derived from סכל = BH שׂכל, *be prudent*,

[1] סכין AP Aḥ : 100. 104 = BH שִׂכִּין, does not belong to this group of words. Cf. Ar سِكِّينٌ. It is probably a loan-word in Hebrew and Arabic from Aramaic. (See AFA p. 84.)

Targ שכל (Aphel only) and rarely סכל, Syr ܫܟܠ. Even in the latter case, however, it is not certain that it belongs to this class of words. Merx regards both BH שׂכל and סכל as derived from Ar شَكْلٌ = *form, likeness* (*vide* BDB p. 698). The original meaning of the verb شَكَلَ appears to be *be meshed* (cf. La. i. 1586 b), and it would connect with BH שׂכל Pi. = *plait crosswise*, in Gen 48 : 14. Unless, therefore, a connexion can be established between שִׂבֶּל and וְהַשְׂכִּיל[1] we cannot connect the latter with شَكَلَ. If Merx is right, the ש of the Targums in the one case, and the ס of BH in the other case, would require explanation.)

We may now endeavour to estimate the significance of this evidence on these consonantal changes observable in our texts. It will be seen that, with scarcely a single exception, wherever testimony is available, Biblical Aramaic is found to differ on each of these points from the earlier Aramaic of Zenjirli, Nerab, Assyria, Babylonia, Persia, India, Arabia, and Asia Minor, while, on the other hand, save in one or two rare exceptions, it is in full agreement with Nabataean and Palmyrene usage. Moreover, save only in the last point, where the Targums normally have ס, and only rarely have ש, Biblical Aramaic is in complete agreement with that of the Targums. Further, while in (2) and (3) the Papyri are in normal agreement with Biblical Aramaic, and only disagree in the writing of the word שקל, in the remaining respects the Papyri normally disagree with Biblical Aramaic, and only exceptionally agree.

On each of these points we can trace a transition from the earliest Aramaic dialects to the Aramaic of the Targums. The transition from צ to ט was completed at some time between the seventh and the fifth centuries B.C. The earliest sign of the transition from ש to ת is found in the Egyptian tomb inscriptions of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., and in the fifth century B.C. it was completed in Egyptian Aramaic, save for the common occurrence of the loan-word שקל. The Aramaic of Daniel would

[1] So, however, S. R. Driver but not BDB.

seem to be a stage further advanced, however, than that of the Papyri, since no exception is here found to the later usage of the Targums. The transition from ק to ע appears in progress in the Papyri, but is completed before the appearance of the text of Ezra and Daniel. It is particularly important to note that in the Aramaic endorsements on the documents of the Murashu Sons, which are contemporary with the Elephantine Papyri, there is no sign of ע, but only ק is found. It would therefore appear that the change began in the West. So, too, with the change from ז to ד. It is in progress in Egypt in the fifth century, while no sign of it appears in Babylon in that age. In Sardis we note its first beginnings, probably in the fourth century, where ד appears side by side with ז, and at Hassan Kef it makes its appearance early in the second century, but still alongside ז. The transition was not completed amongst the Nabataeans until the first century B.C. Nevertheless, no sign of the older usage appears in Biblical Aramaic. It would seem, therefore, that this change also took its rise in Egyptian Aramaic, and gradually spread from there, reaching the Nabataeans subsequently to the Palestinians. So far as the transition from ש to ס is concerned, no certain instances of ס are found in the Papyri, while Biblical Aramaic shows its first beginnings.[1] This is the only one of the five transitions which is reflected in Ezra and Daniel, and in this case we find that the change was not wholly completed by the time of the Palmyrene inscriptions.

This very important evidence is therefore strongly indicative of a date for Biblical Aramaic subsequent to that of the Papyri. There is not a single indication that Biblical Aramaic might be earlier than the Papyri, but many indications that it must be later.

Viewing the evidence from another point of view, we observe that Biblical Aramaic is in agreement with that which is found nearest Palestine, but in disagreement with that which is found at a distance from Palestine, and, in particular, so far as evidence

[1] This is particularly damaging to the suggestion that the text of Ezra and Daniel has been subjected to a phonetic revision. We should be compelled to place the hypothetical reviser not later than the beginning of the Christian era.

is available, in complete disagreement with the usage of Assyria and Babylonia. Moreover, since our available evidence clearly points to the origin of at least two of these changes in the West, the theory of the Eastern provenance of the book of Daniel still more decisively requires a late date for that book than does the theory of the Western provenance. Further, not only does our evidence point definitely to the language spoken near Palestine in a relatively late age for the closest connexions with Biblical Aramaic, and fail to supply us with any indication of a Babylonian origin, but we have positive evidence in the endorsements of the documents of the Murashu Sons that the Aramaic of Daniel cannot be Babylonian and of the sixth century B.C. Unless, therefore, we resort to a *tour de force*, such as Wilson's introduction of Daniel in the light of a Spelling Reformer, or the refusal to argue on the basis of the existing evidence by the unsupported assumption that the present Biblical text is phonetically unreliable, we shall recognize that the evidence clearly suggests, to use no stronger word, that Biblical Aramaic is phonetically later than that of the Papyri, and its place of origin was in, or near, Palestine.

IV

There is a further orthographical variation to which R. D. Wilson devotes a note. He discusses[1] the use of ה and א for the termination of verbs with weak third radical. In a number of other cases, however, some fluctuation between terminal ה and א is to be observed in the texts under review, and it would therefore seem better to make a fuller study of the facts on the general question of terminal ה or א, though it will be found that they do not warrant any very definite conclusions.

(1) Biblical Aramaic uses the form אנחנא = *we* (Dn 3 : 16. 17, Ezr 5 : 11), and this form is found also in the Targums. Side by side with this, Ezra uses אנחנה (4 : 16), and in the Papyri we find

[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 276 f.

this latter form more than a score of times. The Papyri twice present the further form אנחן (AP 1 : 2. 5).[1] Elsewhere in our texts the Pronoun does not appear. For the singular, Biblical Aramaic agrees with the inscriptions of Zenjirli,[2] Nerab, Assyria, Asia Minor, and the Nabataeans, and with the Papyri, in employing, instead of Targumic אנא, the form אנה[3] (e.g. Ezr 6 : 12, Dn 2 : 30, NSI 63 : 1 (Zenj), 65 : 5 (Ner), 68 : 1 (Cilicia), AUA i. : 2 (Ass), AP 5 : 3 (EP), CIS ii. 340 (N)). In Dn 2 : 8 and Ezr 6 : 12 the alternative reading אנא is found.[4] The Pronoun is not found in Palmyrene.

(2) Biblical Aramaic agrees with Nabataean, Sinaitic, and Palmyrene in using דנה=*this*, while the inscriptions from Zenjirli, Nerab, Arabia, Assyria,[5] India, and Asia Minor, together with the Papyri,[6] have זנה. So far as the termination is concerned, therefore, we find agreement throughout our texts. The Targums more frequently employ דין, but also have דנא.

(3) Daniel agrees with Nabataean[7] and Sinaitic in using דא = *this*, in agreement, so far as the terminal letter is concerned, with the Aramaic of Zenjirli, Nerab, Arabia, Assyria, and Egypt, which has זא. The Palmyrene inscriptions have דה[8] (e.g. Vog 31 : 1, 63 : 1, NSI 136 : 2). Here the Targums have דא, in agreement with the usage of Daniel.

[1] Sachau further read אנחן in APO 36, 41 R : 2, but Cowley reads differently (AP 4 : 5).

[2] The Hadad and Panammu inscriptions have אנך and אנכי, which are irrelevant for our present purpose.

[3] It is interesting to note that in incantation texts of about A.D. 600 the same form אנה is met with. *Vide* Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur* (1913), 2 : 1. 5, 4 : 6.

[4] Cf. B-L p. 69 *d*, and K^{GBA} p. 42.

[5] So Delaporte reads in EA 21, 24. In the latter case, ן is all that appears, however, while in the former case the reading is very doubtful. Cf. note on CIS ii. 38.

[6] It is irrelevant here to note the isolated examples of דנה in the Papyri and זנה in Nabataean. *Vide supra*, p. 21.

[7] Baumgartner (*ZAW loc. cit.*, p. 93) says this word is found with ה in Litt 23 : 1, 40 : 1, 100, 103. In all of these cases, however, we have דא, and not דה. In 24 : 1 and 34 : 1 Littmann reads דה, but in both cases the first letter is missing, and in the latter case the second is doubtful.

[8] דא is found in Vog 71 : 2 *bis* (P).

(4) Biblical Aramaic agrees with the Zenjirli inscriptions, the Papyri, and Nabataean, in using מה = what? (e.g. Ezr 6 : 9, Dn 2 : 22, NSI 61 : 12 (Zenj), AP 38 : 6 (EP), CIS ii. 199 : 6 (N)), while Palmyrene has מא (Tar 2 a : 14). It should be noted that Ezra once has מא (6 : 8). Here the usage of Onkelos is מא, while the Targum of pseudo-Jonathan employs מה.

(5) For the termination of the masc. sing. emphatic noun, the normal usage throughout our texts is א, as in the Targums. There are, however, some exceptions, where ה is found. Of these we find two in the Nerab inscriptions (אחרה[1] NSI 64 : 13, 65 : 8), one in Babylonian Aramaic (חקלה CIS ii. 53), four in the Papyri, none of them, however, very certain (דורה AP 79 : 2. 4, ערדה Ah : 204 and עלנה 78 : 1),[2] two in late[3] inscriptions from Egypt (רבה ESE iii. p. 103 f., Ah α : 1, β : 3), and one in Sinaitic (כרמה[4] Eut[S] 99 : 2). More numerous are the exceptions in Biblical Aramaic, where we find in Daniel seven examples of ה (פשרה 2 : 7, 5 : 12, מלכה 2 : 11, יקרה 5 : 20, כתבה 5 : 7. 15, ראשה 2 : 38), and in Ezra about a score of examples (נהרה 4 : 10. 11. 17. 20, 5 : 3. 6, 6 : 6 *bis*, 8. 13, 7 : 21. 25, נביאה 5 : 1 Kt, 6 : 14 Kt, ביתה 5 : 12, 6 : 15, עמה 5 : 12, דכרונה 6 : 2, דהבה 5 : 14, 6 : 5, 7 : 18, דינה 7 : 26). In the plural, the only exceptions to the regular ending in א which we find are: in Egyptian Aramaic two (מלכיה CIS ii. 138 B : 7, חסיה 141 : 4[5]), in addition to a very uncertain word (כלכליה AP 39 : 3), and in Biblical Aramaic one (שוריה[6] Ezr 4 : 16).

(6) For the termination of the fem. sing. absolute, Biblical Aramaic has predominantly ה, in agreement with the Aramaic of Zenjirli, Assyria, Babylonia, Arabia, Egypt, and the Nabataean and Sinaitic inscriptions, but in disagreement with the Palmyrene inscriptions and the Targums, which have א. It is to be noted,

[1] Cf. note in NSI p. 189.

[2] The first and third of these are unknown words, while for the second and third the reading is uncertain. Sachau and Ungnad read the second differently.

[3] Lidz. dates them from the period of the Ptolemies (ESE iii. p. 107). Apparently we have here two copies of the same inscription.

[4] So Nöldeke and Lidz. But Eut and SAC regard as sf.

[5] So Dr[S] p. xiv. NSE and NSI take differently.

[6] Most editors, however, read as suffix.

however, that there are some exceptions, particularly in Biblical Aramaic, where ה is found. Thus, in the Zenjirli inscriptions we find חמא (NSI 61 : 33) alongside זבחה (61 : 18, but possibly sf.), שנה (61 : 24), אלה (62 : 2), שאה (62 : 6. 9), שורה (62 : 6. 9), חטה (62 : 6. 9), and שערה (62 : 6. 9); in Assyrian inscriptions, שלשא (CIS ii. 3 c) and חמשא (*ibid.*, 2 c), against סאה (AI 29) and שלמה (CIS ii. 53 : 2) in Babylonian; in Egyptian Aramaic, ברכא (CIS ii. 131, 135), ברא (AP 14 : 9), מדינא (37 : 6), היבא [י] (Aḥ : 22), ארמיא (14 : 3), תלתא (Aḥ : 92), צפחא (ESE iii. p. 23 C : 8) and אשתלא חתא (*ibid.*, C : 9), against ה used regularly elsewhere. The Arabian, Nabataean, and Sinaitic inscriptions provide no exceptions to the termination in ה, while the Palmyrene exhibit no exceptions to the termination in א. In Biblical Aramaic, however, the exceptions are far more numerous, and though the examples in ה outnumber those in א, the disparity, especially in Ezra, is not considerable.

(7) For the termination of the fem. emphatic, sing. and plur., א is found normally in Biblical Aramaic and the Papyri, and regularly elsewhere, viz., in the Nerab, Assyrian, Nabataean, Sinaitic, and Palmyrene inscriptions. The following exceptions to this usage are found in Biblical Aramaic and in the Papyri: מלתה Dn 2 : 5, מלכותה Dn 2 : 44, שעתה Dn 5 : 5, נפקתה AP 72 : 1 and אלהתה AP 14 : 5. It should also be noted that in the isolated inscription from Jerusalem (CIS ii. 156) we find the forms מלכתה and מלכתא both occurring.

(8) Sachau read תמא AP 45 : 6 as = *there*, with which we should then compare תמה in Gir^{T} 3 : 8, 5 : 6, 8 : 6, CIS ii. 141 : 2[1] (Carp st), and about a dozen times in the Papyri and four times in Ezra. Ungnad, however, was doubtful if תמא should be so read, and Cowley states definitely that it cannot be.

(9) In Dn 7 : 28, כה = *here* is found. With this we may contrast כא, which is found in Assyrian Aramaic (AUA i. : 8), Nabataean (ESE ii. p. 264, Ga : 1) and Palmyrene (NSI 121 : 4).

(10) A few adverbs are found in א alone, עלא in Daniel (6 : 3), Nabataean (often, e. g., NSI 80 : 7), and the Papyri (often, e. g.,

[1] So CIS and NSE. But NSI (p. 205 f.), Dr^{S} (p. xiii) and SAC differently.

AP 3 : 20); ברא in Assyrian (CIS ii. 34 : 8) and the Papyri (AP Aḥ : 109); כנמא in Ezra (4 : 8, 5 : 4. 9. 11, 6 : 13); אספרנא in Ezra (5 : 8); and אדרזדא in Ezra (7 : 23).

(11) In Dn 4 : 32 we find לה = *not*. As against this isolated example, we find לא frequently in Biblical Aramaic, and in the Aramaic of the Têma, Nabataean and Palmyrene inscriptions, and in both inscriptions and Papyri from Egypt. Possibly אלה in CIS ii. 139 B : 4 (EO) = *unless*, with which we should then compare אלא in Tar 2 c : 50 (P).

(12) Biblical Aramaic, Nabataean, Palmyrene, and the Papyri all furnish examples of Peal Perf., 3rd pers. masc. sing., of verbs with weak third radical, in both ה and א, though in the case of Palmyrene but two occurrences of ה are found. In the case of the Papyri, verbs originally ל״א normally have א, while verbs originally ל״ו and ל״י have ה. In the other groups the terminations cannot be so explained. Thus we find:

in Ezra, אתה (5 : 3) against אתא (5 : 16) and הוא (5 : 11);

in Daniel, רבה (4 : 8. 17. 30), חזה (4 : 20, 7 : 1), מנה (5 : 26), מטה (7 : 13. 22), אתה (7 : 22), הוה (4 : 26, 5 : 19 *quinquies*,[1] 6 : 15), against מטא (4 : 25), הוא (5 : 19 *ter*,[1] 6 : 4. 11, 7 : 13), בעא (2 : 16) and נשא (2 : 35);

in the Papyri, ענה[2] (AP 71 : 11, Aḥ : 110. 118), בנה (5 : 20), קרה[3] (71 : 18), קנה (30 : 16, Aḥ : 84), בעה (31 : 16, 50 : 4), רשה (8 : 24), אתה (37 : 11, 82 : 3), הוה (8 : 3 and very often) and, possibly, ימה (66 No. 3 : 1), against ימא (44 : 2), מטא (7 : 7, 10 : 7, 35 : 8, 38 : 3, 83 : 2), נשא (Aḥ : 95);

in Nabataean, בנה (CIS ii. 162, Vog^{N} 6 : 1, RES 90 : 2 and often), הוה (Eut 27 : 4, RES 1108 : 8), against בנא (CIS ii. 333 : 2, 337 : 4, J–S ii. 386 : 1);

[1] The text as given in Ginsburg and Baer reads הוה five times and הוא three times. The text in Str^{GBA}, however, gives הוה six times and הוא twice. The 1926 ed. of Ginsburg shows that the variant הוה is found in each of the cases where הוא stands in the text.

[2] In Dn 2 : 5 we find ענה ואמר, exactly as in Aḥ : 110. 118, and also in Gir^{T} 8 : 7, but MT points as participles. But cf. Kitt^{BH}.

[3] CIS and NSI read קרא, and NSE and SAC so table, but the facsimile clearly shows that the reading is קרה.

in Palmyrene, ענה (Vog 105 : 3, RES 719 : 5) against בנא (Vog 16 : 5, RES 1071 : 2 and more than a dozen times else), טעא (Tar 2 c : 1), פנא (RES 1042 : 1), חיא (RES 25 B : 5, 26 : 5, 996 : 6), הוא (Tar 1 : 5. 6, NSI 121 : 2. 3. 5, RES. 285 : 2);

in other inscriptions, isolated examples only, e.g. שתא NSI 61 : 9 (Zenj), קרא AUA i. : 12 (Ass), אתא IS 61 : 1 (Mesop), חזה ESE i. p. 323 A : 3 (Capp).

Wilson's note on this point is once more interesting, as showing again his unwillingness to face the facts he has gathered.[1] He says that Nabataean and Palmyrene sometimes employ ה and sometimes א, in the Perfect of verbs with weak third radical, but does not note that Palmyrene has a definite preference for א, so that while Nabataean has but three occurrences of בנא, Palmyrene has not one occurrence of בנה,[2] though the verb is a common one in both groups of inscriptions. He also draws attention to the fact that in Egyptian Aramaic א is generally employed for ל״א verbs, and ה for ל״ו and ל״י verbs,[3] as against the later Targumic practice of using א indiscriminately. He then ingenuously suggests that if only he is allowed to alter the readings in Daniel, he can easily bring them into harmony with this usage of the Papyri. It would seem wiser, however, to acknowledge that the text we have, according to the evidence which he himself sets out so fully, has already begun to confuse ל״א verbs with ל״ו and ל״י verbs, and so would seem to belong to a stage subsequent to that of the Papyri, though it has not developed such a strong tendency to unify in א as we find in the Palmyrene inscriptions.

(13) Biblical Aramaic generally terminates the 3rd pers. sing., masc. and fem., the 2nd pers. masc. sing., and the 1st pers., sing. and plur., of the Imperfect of all conjugations of verbs with weak third radical in א, in agreement with the invariable usage of Nabataean and Palmyrene, in the texts we possess, save for a

[1] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 276 f.

[2] It should be noted that NSE (p. 238) quotes an instance of בנה from Palmyrene in Sach 6. More recently, however, this text has been differently read, with דנה for בנה. See RES 1642.

[3] Not quite always, however, if Sachau correctly connects ימה (AP 66 No. 3 : 1) and ימא (AP 44 : 2).

single example in Palmyrene. The Papyri again differentiate between verbs originally ל״א and those originally ל״ו or ל״י, having א for the former and ה for the latter. We also find ה occasionally in Daniel.[1] Thus we have;

in Ezra, ישגא (4 : 22), תקנא (7 : 17), יתמחא (6 : 11), יתבנא (5 : 15, 6 : 3), תתבנא (4 : 13. 16. 21), יהשנא (6 : 11), להוא (4 : 12, 5 : 8, 6 : 9, 7 : 23. 26 *bis*), תהוא (6 : 8);

in Daniel, ישגא (3 : 31, 6 : 26), ימטא (4 : 8. 17), יצבא (4 : 14. 22. 29), יבעא (6 : 8. 13), ישנא (7 : 24), תעדא (6 : 9), תשנא (6 : 18, 7 : 23), אקרא (5 : 17), אבעא (7 : 16), יתרמא (3 : 6. 11, 6 : 8. 13), ישתנא (2 : 9), ימחא (4 : 32), יבלא (7 : 25), אחוא (2 : 24), נחוא (2 : 4), להוא (2 : 20. 28. 29. 41. 45, 3 : 18, 6 : 3), תהוא (2 : 40. 42, 7 : 23), as against יקרה (5 : 7), יעדה (7 : 14), ישתוה (3 : 29), יהחוה (5 : 12), נהחוה (2 : 7), להוה (4 : 22), תהוה (2 : 41. 42, 4 : 24);

in the Papyri, ימלא (AP 71 : 1), ינשא (Aḥ : 90), יכלא (5 : 9. 10), אקרא (7 : 7), תתמלא (2 : 17, 10 : 11. 17), תהשגא (Aḥ : 137), as against ישרה (71 : 7), יבעה (38 : 6, Aḥ : 53), ירבה (10 : 4. 6, 11 : 2. 5), ישתה (Aḥ : 93), יחדה (Aḥ : 106), יסגה (Aḥ : 126), יקנה (Aḥ : 218), ירשה (8 : 26), תשתה (71 : 22), תבעה (Aḥ : 34), תכבה (Aḥ : 100), תחזה (68, No. 3), תבנה (9 : 8), אקשה (Aḥ : 140), אעפה (*ibid.*), אחזה (Aḥ : 205), נרשה (25 : 10, 28 : 9), יתבנה (30 : 27), תתרוה (Aḥ : 189), תחוה (Aḥ : 96), תכסה (Aḥ : 103), נצלה (30 : 26), תשתנה (Aḥ : 201), יהחוה (69 : 1, Aḥ : 93), ירבה (Aḥ : 114), יהחלה (Aḥ : 188), יאתה (82 : 11, Aḥ : 214), תאתה (Aḥ : 97), יהוה (8 : 17 and often), יחיה (11 : 7), אהוה (Aḥ : 149, Beh : 50. 55), תהוה (11 : 3), תהוה (49 : 3);

in Nabataean, יצבא (NSI 87 : 5, RES 1103 : 7), יבעא (Eut 22 :

[1] It should be noted that the Papyri occasionally have י (e.g., יבעי APO 67 3 *auss* : 1, יהוי AP 32 : 2 *et al.*, תגלי Aḥ : 141, תחלי (so Cowley; APO תדלי) Aḥ : 148, תהוי Aḥ : 100, תהעדי Aḥ : 146), and this is also found in the Zenj. inscriptions (ירקי NSI 61 : 18. 22, ירשי 61 : 27. 28, תשתי 61 : 22, תלעי 61 : 32). In Biblical Aramaic one example is found, in the Hithpeel (יתקרי Dn 5 : 12). It seems probable that the י is a distinctively Jussive ending in the Papyri, and in the one case in Daniel it is also Jussive. Moreover, it is possible to regard it as Jussive in all the instances in the Zenjirli inscriptions. In the later Aramaic of the Targums, the י is common, and is without Jussive significance.

4),[1] יקרא (RES 1138 B), יאנא (CIS ii. 199 : 6), תצבא (NSI 84 : 4), ישנא (RES 1144 : 8, 1175 : 7), יתקרא (CIS ii. 488 B : 1), יתשנא (NSI 94 : 4), יאתא (Eut 20 : 2), יהוא (Eut 14 : 4 and several times);

in Palmyrene, יצבא (Tar. 2 c : 50), יגבא (Tar 2 a : 37), יתבעא (Tar 2 b : 20), יתגבא (Tar 2 c : 30), יהוא (NSI 145 : 4 and several times), יהא (Tar 2 c : 8), יחא (NSI 118 : 5), תהוא (Tar 2 b : 44, 2 c : 32), as against תהוה (Tar 2 c : 28);

in other inscriptions only isolated examples, as תחזה (AUA i. : 20) and יאתה (*ibid.* : 11), from Assyria; יבעה (*JAOS* xxxv. p. 372 t : 5), from Cilicia; יפתה (Sard : 8),[2] from Lydia; להוא or יהוא (ESE i. p. 323 A : 5), from Cappadocia.

In his note on this point,[3] Wilson brings out very forcefully that Daniel lies between the stage of development of the Papyri on the one hand, and Nabataean and Palmyrene on the other. It had already lost the distinction between ל״א and ל״ה verbs, he tells us—and, strangely enough, he does not propose to restore the distinction here, though why he should wish to restore it in the Peal Perfect and not elsewhere is not manifest—but, he says, 'Nabataean goes one step further' and unifies in א. He also tells us that ו was the universal ending among the Nabataeans and Palmyrenes, and the so-called Syrians, while we later find י in use in Palestine and in Babylon. On the other hand, he finds in the ה of the Papyri, which sometimes appears in Daniel, the trace of Hebrew influence. The conclusion he draws from this does not seem, however, to bear much relation to what has preceded. He remarks: 'Daniel, being in the central country, between the two extremes, may well have used א, as all other dialects in the central zone have done.' Thus, after showing us that the Aramaic of Daniel reflects a stage of development intermediate between that of the Papyri and that of the Nabataean and Palmyrene inscriptions, reflects the alleged Hebrew influence

[1] Euting here reads יבעא, but CIS, doubtfully, יאתא. RES 1153, following J-S i. 4, agrees with Euting.

[2] So Cowley. But Littmann and Cook read differently.

[3] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 285 ff.

less markedly than the Papyri, and is closely affiliated in its usage to Nabataean, Palmyrene, and Syriac, though differentiated from Targumic, by a strange *volte face* he concludes that it may well have been written before the Papyri, and by one who had been brought up a Hebrew-speaking Jew. In order to effect this surprising transition, he tacitly assumes that the practice, which, apart from Biblical Aramaic, is first known to have existed in the Western Aramaic of the Nabataeans and Palmyrenes, also prevailed several centuries earlier in Eastern Aramaic, without furnishing a shred of evidence for the assumption.[1] It would be more reasonable to conclude, from the material Wilson himself provides, that the book of Daniel emanated from the West, and dates from a time getting well on towards the appearance of the Nabataean inscriptions, when Hebrew had ceased to be the common tongue, and its alleged influence was therefore lessened.[2]

It should perhaps be added, however, that since in the Peal Perfect the dialect of the Nabataeans shows a preference for ה over א, too much should not be made of the fact that only the latter is found in the Imperfect. It is doubtful whether we are justified in saying, with Wilson, that 'Nabataean goes one step further' than Biblical Aramaic, or whether we should not rather conclude that both reflect a very similar stage of development.

(14) Biblical Aramaic employs א in the Infinitive of verbs with weak third radical, while the Papyri again prefer to distinguish between those originally ל״א and those originally ל״ו and ל״י. Thus we find:

in Ezra, מרמא (7 : 24), מחוא (4 : 14), מבנא (5 : 2. 17, 6 : 8), בנא (5 : 3. 13);

[1] The tacit assumption that the post-Christian Syriac and Mandaean dialects are evidence of the usage in Babylon in the sixth century B. C. is matched by the somewhat naïve claim (p. 286) that the usage of the Targums and Talmud is evidence of the usage of the Aramaeans in Palestine 'after Ezra's time'.

[2] We may observe that though in relation to another innovation which Wilson supposes Daniel to have made, we read (p. 279) 'Being an educated man, the author used it consistently and exclusively', in this matter, though his book is supposed by Wilson to be the oldest document in which the practice of using א indiscriminately was introduced, he seems to have been unable to prevent his native Hebrew from asserting itself, despite his education.

in Daniel, מבעא (2 : 18), מגלא (2 : 47), מרמא (3 : 20), מקרא (5 : 8. 16), משרא (5 : 12. 16), מזא (3 : 19), מתא (3 : 2);

in the Papyri, מ[נש]א (AP Aḥ : 122. 123), מומא (6 : 6) as against מבנה (5 : 3. 6. 9. 11, 9 : 14, 30 : 23), מחזה (Aḥ : 37. 63. 108), מרשה (28 : 8).

Elsewhere examples are almost entirely wanting. We may note, however, בנא (NSI 61 : 13. 14) from Zenjirli.[1]

(15) Biblical Aramaic has both ה and א in Participles of verbs with weak third radical, with perhaps a slight preference for ה. The Papyri occasionally have א, in the case of ל״א verbs, but elsewhere have ה. Palmyrene has only א, save in rare exceptions. Thus we find:

in Ezra, בנה (5 : 11), against מתבנא (5 : 8. 16);

in Daniel, ענה (2 : 5. 8 and often), גלה (2 : 47), חזה (2 : 31 and often), אתה (7 : 13), בעה (6 : 12), אזה (3 : 22), מהערה (2 : 21), against גלא (2 : 22. 28. 29), בעא (6 : 14), קרא (3 : 4, 4 : 11, 5 : 7), צבא (5 : 19 *quater*), שרא (2 : 22), מצלא (6 : 11), מהשנא (2 : 21), מחא (5 : 19), מהודא (2 : 23), מודא (6 : 11);

in the Papyri, בנה (AP 27 : 6, 30 : 14. 25, 31 : 13, 32 : 4), הוה (10 : 5),[2] קשה (Aḥ : 101), גבה (Aḥ : 107), צבה (Aḥ : 149), שוה (15 : 8. 9. 11 *bis*. 13), רבה (11 : 9), חזה (Aḥ : 125), מתחזה (Aḥ : 106), מתקנה (Aḥ : 219), against ממלא (Aḥ : 131), מלא (41 : 4, 82 : 8);

in Palmyrene, גבא (Tar 1 : 6. 11, 2 c : 8), דמא (Tar. 2 b : 10, 2 c : 15), רפא (Vog 98 : 4), הוא (Tar 2 b : 27, 2 c : 17), מתקרא[3] (Vog 17 : 2, 36 b : 1, NSI 136 : 5, RES 369 : 3. 5, 1029 : 6), מתגבא (Tar 2 c : 11. 42. 50), מודא (NSI 138 : 2 and several times), against מתקרה (Vog 34 : 1, NSI 142 : 5, RES 257 : 6, 810 : 2, 2142 : 2).

Elsewhere only isolated examples are found, as משתרה (NSI 68 : 6), from Cilicia.

[1] Note also, בני with י in NSI 61 : 10 (Zenj). This is usually taken as construct plural of בר = *son*. This does not, however, give a very good meaning. On the other hand, the verb would give a very good parallel with לנצב.

[2] So Sachau, but Cowley regards as a mistake for הו.

[3] Ct. מקתרי (= מתקרי), with י, in CIS ii. 499 : 2 *et al.* (S). The termination י is perhaps found also in Palmyrene in גבי Tar 1 : 13. (So NSI and NSE. But Wr[CG] p. 225, following Sachau, regards as Perfect.)

From the examination of the above fifteen points, it will appear that Biblical Aramaic employs both ה and א in most cases, with a preference sometimes for the one, and sometimes for the other. The Targums normally have א, or, in the case of some of the forms of verbs with weak third radical, י, and have scarcely any forms with ה. It will be noted, however, that Palmyrene, though it has a decided preference for forms with א, still uses ה in a number of cases, while Nabataean has still more forms with ה. Indeed, careful examination reveals the very close similarity throughout between Biblical Aramaic and Nabataean in this respect. The Papyri are also very similar, though there is a stronger leaning towards ה. This is more particularly the case in forms of verbs with weak third radical, where ה is almost universally used, save for verbs originally ל״א. It is noteworthy that in the case of the demonstrative דא or זא, the ה is found consistently from the very earliest inscriptions, save in the Palmyrene group, strangely enough, while for the emphatic termination of substantives, א predominates from the earliest times, ה being found only in Biblical Aramaic, the Papyri and inscriptions from Nerab and Babylonia, and there less commonly than א.

Montgomery attributes the inconsistencies in the use of final ה and ה in Daniel to subsequent scribal confusion.[1] There would seem no reason, however, for this. Since we find similar inconsistencies in the usage of the Nabataean and Palmyrene inscriptions, which have not suffered from scribal transmission, we are not justified in assuming that those we find in Biblical Aramaic are due to that cause. It is more natural to suppose that they are original to the documents, and mark them as belonging to a time when the older distinctions were weakening. The present writer would be very cautious, however, in drawing any conclusions from this group of examples, relating to terminal ה or א, as the use is so fluctuating throughout our texts. The balance of the evidence would suggest, however, that Biblical Aramaic belongs to a later stage of development than that of the Papyri,

[1] *Dan.* p. 18.

and would link it particularly closely with Nabataean. In almost every case the predominant use of Biblical Aramaic is in harmony with that of Nabataean, while in the case of verbs with weak third radical, the use of the Papyri is definitely different from that of Biblical Aramaic, and definitely of an earlier character, drawing a distinction between verbs originally ל״א and those originally ל״ו and ל״י, which had been lost when our Biblical sections appeared.

V

Turning now to questions of Accidence, we may commence with an examination of the Pronouns and pronominal suffixes. On this matter Wilson does not present any statement of the evidence for the usage of the various dialects, but does state a conclusion which the evidence does not support. Before we discuss his statement, therefore, we may acquaint ourselves with the following facts, on which a judgement may be based :[1]

(1) Biblical Aramaic alone has the form אנתה = *thou*. This stands regularly in the text, but the Massoretes uniformly alter to אַנְתְּ, as in the Targum of pseudo-Jonathan. The inscriptions of Zenjirli and Nerab employ the form את, which is also found in the Aramaic of Assyria and of Asia Minor, e.g. NSI 61 : 33 ? (Zenj), 64 : 5, 65 : 8 (Ner), AUA i. : 2. 19. 21 (Ass), Guzneh : 2 (Cilicia).[2] This form is used also in the Targum of Onkelos. The Papyri, in agreement with the Palmyrene inscriptions, have the form אנת, e.g. AP 2 : 16 and very often in EP, NSI 143 : 4. 7 (P). The Pronoun is not found in the remaining dialects under review. In Biblical Aramaic the text should certainly be pointed אַנְתָּה, and it preserves an older form than אַנְתְּ.

[1] Only such facts as reveal differences between the dialects of possible significance are here noted. Thus, no mention is made of the first personal Pronoun, where, apart from two of the Zenjirli inscriptions, the same form is found throughout our texts.

[2] So Montgomery and Torrey. Halévy, however, declares that מן זי את = *whoever thou art*, is quite impossible, and reads מן זי אתת, taking quite differently. (*RS* xvi. (1908), p. 435 f.)

(2) Biblical Aramaic has הוא = *he*, while the Zenjirli inscriptions and the Palmyrene Tariff have הא, e.g. NSI 61 : 22. 30, 62 : 11. 22, 63 : 17. 18. 19 (Zenj), Tar 2 c : 6 (P). Other Palmyrene inscriptions, together with the Nabataean inscriptions and the Papyri, have הו, e. g., AP 5 : 1 and very often in EP, CIS ii. 164 : 3 and very often in N, Vog 8 : 3, 36 b : 1 (P). This form is found also beside הא in the Palmyrene Tariff, 2 a : 6, 2 c : 27. Biblical Aramaic here agrees with the later Aramaic of the Targums.

(3) Biblical Aramaic has היא = *she*, while the Papyri, together with the Nabataean inscriptions and the Palmyrene Tariff, have הי, e.g. AP 5 : 4, and several times in EP, CIS ii. 161 III : 3 (N), Tar 2 c : 10 (P). The Pronoun is not found elsewhere in our texts. Here again, Biblical Aramaic is in agreement with the Targums.

(4) Ezra and the Papyri have אנחנה = *we*, e.g., Ezr 4 : 16, AP 2 : 9, and more than a score of times else in EP. The Papyri have also the form אנחן twice,[1] and this form is also found in the Tomb inscriptions in Egypt, viz., Gir^{T} 11, AP 1 : 2. 5. It is to be noted that this form is found in the earliest papyrus alone, and in the earlier Tomb inscriptions. In Ezra we find a further form אנחנא, and this is also found in Daniel, viz., Ezr 5 : 11, Dn 3 : 16. 17. This last form is found in the Targums.

(5) Daniel employs the form אנתון = *ye*, in 2 : 8, while the Papyri have the form אנתם in AP 21 : 4, 38 : 5. 6. 8, 80 : 8. The Targums here use the form אתון.[2]

(6) Ezra and the Papyri have המו = *they*, *them*, and this form is also found in Assyrian Aramaic,[3] e.g. Ezr 4 : 10 and eight other times, AP 9 : 7 and nearly a score of times else in EP, AUA i. : 4. 7 and eleven other times in this letter. Daniel uses the form המון in 2 : 34. 35, 3 : 22. The form הם is found in AUA i. : 17 (Ass), AP 18 : 3 (EP), CIS ii. 203 : 3, 210 : 6 (N). Both Ezra and Daniel have also אנון, in agreement with the

[1] Sachau and Ungnad read אנחן in AP 4 : 5, but Cowley ה]שכחן[.

[2] We may note that in Montgomery's *Aramaic Incantation Texts* we find the form אנתון in 19 : 13. Montgomery dates *c.* A.D. 600.

[3] Baumgartner incorrectly states (*ZAW loc. cit.*, p. 104) that המו is found in the Zenjirli and ZKR inscriptions.

Targums, viz., Ezr 5 : 4, Dn 2 : 44, 6 : 25, 7 : 17 Kt. Nabataean provides us with the further form אנו in NSI 94 : 4. 5.[1]

(7) Biblical Aramaic, Nabataean, Palmyrene, and the Papyri, with rare exceptions,[2] employ יהי־ in suffixes for the 3rd pers. masc. sing. to masc. plur. substantives, e.g., עבדוהי Ezr 5 : 11, Dn 2 : 7, בנוהי Ezr 6 : 10, AP 40 : 1 (EP), NSI 83 : 3 (N), Eut^{S} 160 (S), NSI 115 : 5 (P). This usage is in agreement with that of the Targums. The Zenjirli inscriptions have יה־, e.g., רעיה NSI 61 : 11, איחיה 61 : 27. 28, מודדיה 61 : 27, ידיה 61 : 29, יומיה 62 : 9, while the only examples of the suffix we have from Nerab or Asia Minor have וה־, viz. קדמוה NSI 65 : 2 (Ner), ESE i, p. 70 t : 5 (Capp).

(8) Biblical Aramaic and Nabataean have נא־ for the suffix of of the 1st pers. plur., e.g. אלהנא Dn 3 : 17, שיזבותנא Dn 3 : 17, אבהתנא Ezr 5 : 12, לנא Ezr 4 : 14, עלינא Ezr 4 : 12 התיבונא Ezr 5 : 11, מראנא NSI 81 : 8 (N). The Aramaic of Assyria, of the Papyri and of the Palmyrene inscriptions normally has ן־, e.g., לן CIS ii. 34 : 8, AUA i. : 14 (Ass), אלהן AP 7 : 6, מראן AP 17 : 1, נשין AP 30 : 15, בנתן AP 20 : 10 (EP), מרן NSI 126 : 2, 128 : 3 (P). There are, however, a few exceptions, where we find נא־ in Egyptian Aramaic, as חוינא AP 31 : 15 (with which ct. החוין in 30 : 16), תרדמנא CIS ii. 129 : 1 (but meaning very doubtful).[3]

(9) Daniel has כון־ in suffixes for the 2nd pers. masc. plur., in agreement with the Targums, e.g., אלהכון 2 : 47, בתיכון 2 : 5, דתכון 2 : 9, ישיזבנכון 3 : 15. Ezra exceptionally has כון־, viz., ישאלנכון 7 : 21, but elsewhere has כם־, as also do the Zenjirli inscriptions and the Papyri, e.g., אלהכם Ezr 7 : 17. 18, לכם 5 : 3. 9, 7 : 24;

[1] So NSI and NSE. But SAC tables as אלו = אִלּוּ.

[2] In a few instances we find יהי־, as רעינהי Dn 4 :16, 5 : 6, אשהי Ezr 6 : 3 (text prob. corr.), יעטהי Ezr 7 : 14, עלהי Ezr 6 : 11, ברהי Vog 30 b : 3. 4 (P) with wh. ct. בנוהי in parallel text, 30 a : 3. 4, מאנהי APO 64 2 *inn* : 7 (EO). There are, further, a few cases of וה־, as חיוה Vog 85 : 3 and several times in P, בנוה Vog 80 : 4 (P), or ו־, as בנו Vog 89 : 2 (P), or יה־, as בניה RES 2145 : 3. In Sinaitic we find בניה CIS ii. 545 : 3, בניהי CIS ii. 536 : 4, בניהו CIS ii. 536 : 5 and בניו CIS ii. 1185. The form חיוהו in Vog 86 (P), Nö. regards as a scribal error (*vide ZDMG* xxiv. p. 98).

[3] Sachau found the suffix in מדינתנא of AP 24 : 36, 37 : 6, 68 No. 11 rev., but Cowley separates, reading מדינת נא = *city of No.*

אחכם NSI 61 : 29 (Zenj); לבתכם AP 37 : 11, ידכם 38 : 9, תוגיכם 21 : 9, בנתכם 20 : 13, רשינכם 20 : 4. 7, ירשכם 25 : 15 (EP).

(10) Daniel and Palmyrene, again agreeing with the Targums, have ־הן in suffixes for the 3rd pers. masc. plur. Ezra sometimes has ־הם, but elsewhere has ־הן. Jer. 10 : 11, the Zenjirli and Nabataean inscriptions and the Papyri all have ־הם, which is also found in the inscription of ZKR and in the political letter of the time of Ashurbanipal. Thus we have, e.g.:

in Ezra, אלההם (5 : 5), ראשיהם (5 : 10), שמהתהם (5 : 10), עליהם (7 : 24) and נסכיהון (7 : 17), כנותהון (4 : 9), מנחתהון (7 : 17), עמהון (5 : 2), עליהון (5 : 1. 3);

in Daniel, כלהון (2 : 38, 7 : 19[1]), ראשהן (3 : 27), יומיהון (2 : 44), נשיהון (6 : 25), כרבלתהן (3 : 21), להון (2 : 35),[2] מנהון (6 : 3 *bis*),[3] ביניהון (7 : 8),[4] אחריהן (7 : 24);[5]

in Jer. 10 : 11, להום;[6]

in the Zenjirli inscriptions, להם (NSI 63 : 18. 19);

in the ZKR inscription, מחנת הם[7] (a : 9);

in the Assyrian political letter, איתהם (AUA i. : 6), ידיהם (*ibid.* : 9);

in Egyptian Aramaic, אבהיהם (Gir^{T} 12 : 3), בלעדיהם (12 : 1), עליהם (9 : 4), פמהם (AP Aḥ : 124), נפשהום (30 : 13)[8], בניהם (13 : 14), כנתהם (17 : 7), שמהתהם (Aḥ : 116), לותהם (17 : 7), קדמתהם (71 : 3), and possibly[9] להן (34 : 7, 37 : 14), בהן (34 : 6, 82 : 11), מנהן (16 : 4);

in Nabataean, עמהם (NSI 95 : 2), נפשהם (CIS ii. 200 : 2),[10]

[1] The Ḳr here has כלהין, fem.

[2] In 7 : 21 written defectively.

[3] Elsewhere Ḳr always has מנהין, fem. (2 : 33 *bis*. 41 *bis*. 42 *bis*).

[4] Ḳr has ביניהין, fem. [5] Written defectively.

[6] Written *plene*. Normally we find vowel letter written with ן alone, where it almost always appears.

[7] Sf. here written separately.

[8] The sf. is written *plene* in the Papyri only here and in AP 31 : 8. 16, Beh : 38, p. 265 t : 2 *bis*.

[9] Sachau regarded these forms as fem., but Cowley thinks the fem. does not occur in these texts (cf. note on p. 128). In his note on 16 : 4, however, Cowley appears to regard מנהן as fem.

[10] In NSI 80 : 2 the context shows that the suffixes in נפשהם and אחרהם

ילדהם (200 : 2)[1], אמהם (222 : 2), בניהם (158 : 4), בנתהם (NSI 87 : 2), יתהם (RES 1102 : 5);

in Palmyrene, כלהון (NSI 117 : 2),[2] אבוהן[3] (136 : 7), יקרהון (110 : 5),[4] בניהון (136 : 9),[5] חייהון (136 : 8),[6] תרויהון (110 : 1),[7] אלהיהון (110 : 4),[8] מרתהון (131 : 4).

Wilson deals at some length with this and the preceding point,[9] though he omits to inform his readers that while the Papyri agree with one of the usages of Ezra, they disagree with Daniel. He suggests that the ־ין does not really belong to Western Aramaic, but was borrowed from Babylonian, Daniel borrowing it regularly, and Ezra more sparingly. He does not suggest how it came into Palmyrene, and is more concerned that we should know that Samaritan still uses ־ם alongside ־ין than that we should ask why the Targums have ־ין. He draws our attention to the fact that late Eastern Aramaic, i.e., Syriac, Mandaean, and the Talmud, has ־ין, as well as Palmyrene. That it is found in both East and West in later times would not so much suggest that it was of Eastern origin, as that it was of *later* origin. Its earliest known occurrence, apart from Biblical Aramaic, is in Palmyrene—in the West, that is—and in the absence of any indication that it was due to Babylonian influence there, either directly, or through the influence of Daniel and Ezra, we should naturally conclude that this usage more probably developed in the West. That Ezra uses it sometimes only, while Daniel uses it regularly, is in perfect harmony with that conclusion, if Daniel is a Palestinian production, of later origin than Ezra, while we should expect to find it in the Targums. The early Zenjirli inscriptions have ־ם, the Papyri have ־ם, and,

are fem. It would appear, therefore, that in Nabataean the same sf. was used for both genders.

[1] Written ולדהם in CIS ii. 203 : 2.
[2] Written defectively sometimes, as in Vog 92 : 3.
[3] Written defectively.
[4] Written defectively in NSI 142 : 2.
[5] Sometimes written defectively, as in NSI 135 : 7.
[6] Written defectively in NSI 135 : 6.
[7] Sometimes written defectively, as in NSI 111 : 2.
[8] Written defectively in NSE Plate xlii. 10 : 3.
[9] *Loc. cit.*, p. 279 f.

still more significant, the Assyrian Aramaic of the time of Ashurbanipal also has ם־. All of this is in full accord with that conclusion. Nor is it in any way more surprising that the ן־ should later spread also to the East, until it became the almost universal Aramaic form, than that it should have spread from the East to the West. The only surprising element is that Nabataean still has ם־. Wilson himself, however, draws our attention to the fact that even when ן־ was universally used elsewhere, in both East and West, Samaritan for some reason still retained ם־ beside ן־, and we are therefore the less surprised to find that at an earlier date Nabataean should not have employed the ן־.

The evidence is once more, therefore, highly inconvenient for the traditional theory which Wilson champions. We have positive evidence that the usage in the East a century before the alleged date of the book of Daniel was ם־, while in the book of Ezra we find that in what purports to be a royal letter from the East, dispatched a century after the date of Daniel, ם־ and ן־ stand side by side. Yet the book of Daniel consistently uses ן־. It is much more natural to suppose that ן־ first took its rise in Palestinian Aramaic, not earlier than the fourth century B. C., and that the Aramaic portions of Ezra, where it appears irregularly, are the earliest writings now extant in which it appears.[1] By the time when the Aramaic sections of the book of Daniel were written, the ן־ had completely displaced the ם־ in Palestinian Aramaic. By the beginning of the Christian era, the ן־ had penetrated to the neighbouring Palmyrenes, though the Nabataeans still followed the older orthography. At a still later date we find that the newer usage had spread yet farther, and become the ordinary usage in both East and West.

(11) Ezra employs דְּנָה = *this* (e. g., 5 : 16), while the Papyri and Cappadocian Aramaic have דך (e. g., AP 30 : 6, ESE i. p. 67 t : 7). Daniel has the form דְּכֵן (2 : 31), and the Papyri, alongside דך, have also the form זכם (e. g., AP 9 : 2, and twice else). For the

[1] If Cowley rightly finds one or two instances of ן־ in the Papyri, we should need to say 'not earlier than the latter part of the fifth century'; but an origin in the West would still be indicated.

feminine, Ezra has דָּךְ (e. g., 4 : 13), and the Papyri זך (e. g., AP 5 : 4), זכי (AP 1 : 4, and twice else), דכא (AP 14 : 6) and דכי (AP 14 : 9). The form זך is found in the inscription from India (Tax : 7).[1] Daniel has the form דִּכְּן, as in the masculine (7 : 20. 21). The forms we find in the Targums are דֵּיכִי (masc.) and דָּךְ (fem.).

(12) Biblical Aramaic, the Papyri, and Nabataean inscriptions have אלך = *these* (e. g., Ezr 4 : 21, Dn 3 : 12, AP 16 : 4 (EP), NPF 90 : 1 (N)), while the Papyri have also אלכי once (AP 14 : 8).[2] The Targumic form is here אליך.

(13) Biblical Aramaic, Nabataean, and Palmyrene all use the demonstrative דנה = *this*, which is also found once in the Papyri. Elsewhere the Papyri have זנה, and this occurs too in the ZKR inscription and those from Zenjirli, Nerab, Arabia, India, and Asia Minor. The form זנה is found also once in an early Nabataean inscription.[3]

(14) Daniel and Nabataean, in agreement with the Targums, have דא = *this* (fem.). Palmyrene normally has דה, but twice has דא, while זא is found in the Aramaic of Zenjirli, Nerab, Arabia, Assyria, and of the Papyri.[4]

(15) Daniel and Palmyrene employ אלן = *these* (e. g., Dn 2 : 44, 6 : 7, NSI 110 : 1), and this form is found also in Persia (CIS ii. 111 : 5), while Daniel has also אלין (2 : 40, 6 : 3, 7 : 17). The form אל is found in the inscription of ZKR (a : 9. 16, b : 8), and possibly in one of the Zenjirli inscriptions (NSI 61 : 29?), while אלה appears in Jer 10 : 11, Ezra and Assyrian, Cappadocian and Nabataean inscriptions, together with the Papyri (e. g., Ezr 5 : 15,[5] AUA i. : 12. 13[6] (Ass), ESE i. p. 323 A : 4 (Capp), NSI 94 : 3 (N), AP 2 : 13 (EP)). The form אלו is found on an ostrakon from Elephantine (NSI 74 A : 2. 5).[7]

[1] So Cowley.

[2] Cowley reads אלכי in AP 14 : 6, 13 : 6, but in neither case is the final letter now visible.

[3] For all these forms references are given above in illustration of the usage, and they are not, therefore, repeated here.

[4] For these forms again illustrative references have already been given.

[5] The Ḳr here has אל. [6] So Lidz. But Baneth quite differently.

[7] SAC tables this form too for NSI 94 : 4. 5, where, however, NSE and NSI read אנו.

(16) Biblical Aramaic, Nabataean and Palmyrene, again agreeing with the Targums, have the relative pronoun די, while the inscription of ZKR, and those of Zenjirli, Nerab, Assyria, Babylonia, Arabia, Egypt, and Asia Minor, together with the Papyri, have זי.[1] It should also be noted that the relative ש is found at Nerab (NSI 64 : 1, 65 : 1), while Torrey regards אש in the ZKR inscription (a : 2) as the relative.[2] A further form אזי appears in Assyrian Aramaic (AUA i. : 14 *bis*).[3]

Deferring for a moment the consideration of the eleventh of these points, it will be instructive to examine more closely the differences which the remaining points reveal between Biblical Aramaic and some other groups of inscriptions and the Papyri. Thus we find that the *Zenjirli* inscriptions provide us with instances in but nine of these cases. In each of these nine cases the usage of the Zenjirli inscriptions is different from that of the book of Daniel. In two cases the Zenjirli usage is paralleled by an alternative usage in the book of Ezra, and in a third case the difference from the form used in Ezra is but slight, and is perhaps merely a case of defective writing (?אל = אֵל = אלה). Thus we have :

Zenjirli	*Ezra*	*Daniel*
את	אנתה	
הא	הוא	
־יה	־והי	
־כם	־כון and ־כם	־כון
־הם	־הון and ־הם	־הון
זנה	דנה	
זא		דא
אל	אלה	אלן
זי	די	

[1] References are given above in illustration, together with the rare exceptions to this usage.

[2] *Vide JAOS* xxxv. p. 357. Others, however, read אִשׁ = *man*.

[3] So Lidz., who also finds the relative in the Panammu inscription (NSI 62 : 2), where he reads אזה, which he here compares. Cooke, however, there reads אלה, and treats as a noun (cf. NSI p. 175).

The inscriptions from *Nerab* provide examples of but five of these usages. In not a single one of these is the usage of Nerab in agreement with that of Biblical Aramaic. Thus we find:

Nerab	*Biblical Aramaic*
את	אנתה
־וה	־והי
זנה	דנה
זא	דא
ז and ש	די

The inscriptions from *Assyria and Babylonia* illustrate the usage on seven of the points above enumerated. In every one their usage is different from that of Daniel, but in three the usage may be paralleled in Ezra. Thus we have:

Assyria and Babylonia	*Ezra*	*Daniel*
את	אנתה	
המו and הם	המו	המון
־ן	־נא	
־הם	־הון and ־הם	־הון
זא		דא
אלה	אלה	אלן
ז and אזי	די	

The *Papyri* differ from the book of *Ezra* on six of these points, and agree with Ezra on seven points. In four of these seven, however, Ezra also has forms differing from those of the Papyri. The agreements are:

Papyri	*Ezra*
אנחנה and אנחן	אנחנא and אנחנה
המו and הם	אנון and המו
־והי	
־כם	־כון and ־כם
־הם [1]	־הון and ־הם
אלך	
אלה	

[1] The possible exceptions to this usage, noted above, are so few in propor-

while the disagreements are:

אנת	אנתה
הו	הוא
הי	היא
־ן	־נא
זנה [1]	דנה
זי [1]	די

When we compare the usage of the *Papyri* with that of the book of *Daniel*, however, we find that, apart from the rare instances we have noted where the Papyri have ד in the demonstrative and relative pronouns, and the rare and not very sure instances of the suffix ־הן for the 3rd pers. masc. plur., the usage of Daniel differs from that of the Papyri on no less than thirteen of the fifteen points at present under examination, and agrees in two points only. These two points of agreement are:

Papyri	*Daniel*
־והי	
אלך	

while the points of disagreement are:

אנת	אנתה
הו	הוא
הי	היא
אנחנה and אנחן	אנחנא
אנתם	אנתון
המו and הם	אנון and המון
־ן	־נא
־כם	־כון
־הם	־הון
זנה	דנה
זא	דא
אלה	אלן
זי	די

tion to the numerous examples of this regular usage that they are omitted here, especially as their inclusion would in no way affect the argument.

[1] The rare and numerically insignificant exceptions to these usages have been noted above.

Comparing now the usage of the *Nabataean* inscriptions with that of the book of *Ezra*, we find material for comparison on ten only of these points. On three only is there disagreement between them, but on one other point we find forms in Ezra differing from those of Nabataean, as well as forms agreeing with the Nabataean usage. Thus, apart from the differences:

Nabataean	*Ezra*
הו	הוא
הי	היא
אנו and הם	אנן and המו

we find the following agreements:

־והי	
־נא	
־הם	־הן and ־הם
אלך	
דנה	
אלה	
די	

Daniel, on the other hand, differs from *Nabataean* in five of these points, and agrees in six points. Thus we have:

Nabataean	*Daniel*
הו	הוא
הי	היא
אנו and הם	אנן and המון
־הם	־הון
אלה	אלן

and the following agreements:

־והי
־נא
אלך
דנה
דא
די

Passing to *Palmyrene*, we find material for comparison with *Ezra* on nine points only, and in the case of five of these the usages differ, while in one of the remaining cases Ezra has forms agreeing with, and differing from, those of Palmyrene. Thus we find:

Palmyrene	*Ezra*
אנת	אנתה
הו and הא	הוא
הי	היא
־ן	־נא
אלן	אלה

and the following agreements:

־והי	
־הון	־הון and ־הם
דנה	
די	

The book of *Daniel*, however, while showing five points of disagreement with *Palmyrene*, has five points of complete agreement. The points of disagreement are:

Palmyrene	*Daniel*
אנת	אנתה
הו and הא	הוא
הי	היא
־ן	־נא
דה	דא

while the points of agreement are:

־והי
־הון
דנה
אלן
די

It should also be noted that *Daniel* agrees with the later usage of the *Targums* in every respect, save in the use of אנתה, אנתון, המון, and דנה, while in the case of one of these we find in Daniel

the Targumic אנון alongside המון. Moreover, *Ezra* differs from the *Targums* in the use of אנחה, אנחנה, המו, כ־, ם־, דנה, and אלה. In Ezra again, however, we find the Targumic forms אנחנא, אנון, כ־, and הון־ alongside אנחנה, המו, כ־, and ם־.

We may now turn to examine the statement of R. D. Wilson, above referred to, for which, however, he does not furnish any evidence. He says,[1] 'With regard to the Pronouns of Daniel, it may be said, that with the exception that *dh* is written with Dolath instead of with Zayin, they agree more closely in writing, form, and inflection with those of the old Aramaic dialects found in the Papyri and in the inscriptions of Syria than they do with those of the later inscriptions and Targums, or with those of the Syriac, Mandean and Samaritan documents.' This surprising statement is at direct variance with the facts, as may be seen by a glance at the above tables of differences. More disagreements can be established between Daniel and the Papyri than between Daniel and any other group of texts, nor are these offset by many points of agreement, while, on the contrary, *more agreements and fewer disagreements can be established between Daniel and the Targums than between Daniel and any of the early Aramaic dialects represented in the Papyri and inscriptions.* Even when the points excluded by Wilson, which involve only the interchange of ז and ד, are eliminated, and to Daniel's disagreements with the Targums is added the first personal Pronoun singular—which does not appear amongst the above tabulated points, since אנה is found throughout the whole literature of Early Aramaic, where examples are preserved, save in two of the Zenjirli inscriptions—the case is still unaltered. Nor is it affected, if Daniel's use of דכן, which will be considered below, be added, since that usage is equally unparalleled in the Papyri.

On the other hand, while on several points no examples have been preserved in Nabataean and Palmyrene, and the argument from silence would be precarious, fewer disagreements can be demonstrated between Daniel and Palmyrene than between Daniel

[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 284.

and the Papyri, and similarly, too, with Daniel and Nabataean. Further, of the five differences between Daniel and Palmyrene, of which we have evidence, two are cases where the usage of Daniel is supported by the Nabataean inscriptions, while of the five differences which can be established between Daniel and Nabataean, two are cases where the usage of Daniel is the same as that of Palmyrene. In only four particulars, therefore, can Daniel's variance with either Nabataean or Palmyrene not be paralleled from the other, viz., in the use of אנתה, הוא, היא, and המון or אנון, while in two of these cases the usage of Daniel is the same as that of the Targums, and in a third one of the alternatives is Targumic. We are left, therefore, with המון and אנתה alone, where a difference between Daniel and either Nabataean or Palmyrene is not paralleled either by the other or by the Targums, and in the case of אנתה the usage of the Nabataeans is not preserved for us, while in the case of המון, the form is equally unparalleled in any of the early inscriptions.

Again, of Daniel's differences from the Targums, the use of אנה and דנה is paralleled in the Nabataean inscriptions, and we are therefore able positively to demonstrate that every usage of Daniel in connexion with the Pronouns is attested at least as late as the Nabataean inscriptions, with the exception of אנתה, אנתון,[1] המון, and דכן, and in the absence of any evidence as to what forms the Nabataeans employed for three of these, we are not able to prove that these three also did not survive until the same age.

The plain facts, therefore, are that the differences between Biblical Aramaic and the earlier inscriptions and the Papyri are notably greater than the differences between Biblical Aramaic and the later inscriptions and the Targums. Ezra would seem to stand distinctly nearer to the Papyri than does Daniel, while, on the other hand, Daniel is nearer to Palmyrene than is Ezra, though both have several differences here. The close agreement with Targumic usage, however, robs these differences from Palmyrene of much of their significance, as we have seen. The evidence,

[1] This is attested much later than Nabataean, though not in our texts or in the Targums. See above, p. 51 *n.*

therefore, viewed as a whole, would very strongly suggest that Biblical Aramaic is later than that of the Papyri, and Daniel somewhat later than Ezra, while the differences from Palmyrene and resemblances to the Targums would suggest a definitely Palestinian origin for Biblical Aramaic.

Returning now to the consideration of (11), we find that Ezra is here very close to the Targums, while Daniel stands quite alone. Save for the substitution of ז for ד, the Papyri have the forms of Ezra, together with others peculiar to themselves. It may be further noted that the whole group of forms is peculiar to Jewish Aramaic, so far as our evidence goes, save for a single occurrence of זך in Cappadocia, and a probable one in India. In the very limited state of our testimony, however, we should not be justified in concluding that it was not found in the other dialects. The forms found in the Papyri are particularly interesting. The forms זכי and דכי, and, in the plural, אלכי, seem to have been used in addressing a woman, and the termination would seem therefore to have been originally inflectional.[1] If this is so, we should incline to suppose from the evidence available that the forms in the Papyri were the earliest, since they include these inflected forms, while elsewhere we find only the stereotyped forms to which they gave way.

Before leaving the Pronouns we may note one further point, since R. D. Wilson gives a somewhat misleading statement on it, with the professed object of enabling his readers to form a judgement for themselves.[2] In adding pronominal suffixes to verbal forms, Biblical Aramaic always, save in two cases of Jussive, and the Papyri generally, insert נ *energicum* with the Imperfect, while the Zenjirli and Nerab inscriptions, save in the one instance

[1] Cowley so treats it, rendering 'this of thine' (cf. notes on AP 1 : 4, 8 : 8 and 14 : 6). So GVG i. p. 322 v. β. Barth, however, treats the final י as demonstrative (*vide* PB p. 91). Brockelmann leaves open the further question whether the termination in זכם was not originally that of the 2nd pers. plur., but Cowley decides in favour of a demonstrative element (cf. note on AP 9 : 2), while G. R. Driver would connect it with Ass. *ammû* = *that*, and the *n* of דכן with Ass. *annû* = *this* (*vide JTS* xxv. (1923–4), p. 297).

[2] *Loc. cit.*, p. 291.

לכתשנה (NSI 61 : 31), employ forms without the נ, as also does the inscription of ZKR of Hamath. Palmyrene provides examples with נ and without (יבילנה Tar 2 b : 23, יפתחיהי NSI 145 : 6). In the case of the other groups of inscriptions, we have no data on which to base a judgement. Wilson states that 'there are no examples of it (i.e. נ *energicum*), in Nabataean'. This is perfectly true, but in order to avoid giving a wrong impression he should have added that neither are there any examples preserved in Nabataean without the נ. Even if there were, however, they would be of scant significance, for in view of the fact that the forms with נ *energicum* are the common ones in the Aramaic of the Targums, the similarity of usage in Biblical Aramaic and the Papyri is robbed of all importance.

VI

Apart from the questions dealt with above, in Section IV, in connexion with Terminal ה or א, there are few points of special significance or interest arising from the inflection of substantives. We may, however, note the following points:

(1) Biblical Aramaic agrees with Nabataean, Sinaitic, Palmyrene, and the Targums, in forming the masc. plur. absolute in ־ין. There are a few exceptions, however, ־ן being occasionally found (e.g., שלטן Dn 4 : 23, דכירן CIS ii. 812 : 1, 1115 : 1 (S), דכרן Vog 71 : 1 (P), אלן (? = אלהן) NSI 139 : 6 (P)), while in Biblical Aramaic ־ים is thrice found, twice in Daniel and once in Ezra (מלכים Ezr 4 : 13, אלפים Dn 7 : 10 Kt, אנשים Dn 4 : 14). On the other hand, in the Aramaic of Nerab, Assyria, and Arabia ־ן is normal, as also in Egyptian Aramaic, where ־ין is exceptional (e.g., מסמרין AP 26 : 16, תמנין 26 : 10. 14, צימין 30 : 15. 20, גברין 30 : 16, נבסין 30 : 16, עבידין 30 : 20, אמרין 30 : 22, קדמין 30 : 25, כנברין 30 : 28, מלין 37 : 9, נונין 45 : 3). The Zenjirli inscriptions display two usages, ־י being found in the Hadad and Panammu inscriptions, and ־ן in the inscription of Bar-RKB.

(2) In the masc. plur. construct, Palmyrene alone has forms

in ־א (e.g., בנא Vog 21, 63 : 2, 64, 100 : 3 *et al.*, חיא 80 : 4, 84 : 3, 90 : 6, עבדא NSI 126 : 4), though more commonly it has forms in ־י, which alone are found elsewhere.

(3) In the masc. plur. emphatic, Palmyrene alone has forms in ־א, as distinct from ־יא (e.g., תגרא NSI 113 : 3, Tar 1 : 7, 2 c : 16, מלכא NSI 130 : 1, קצבא Tar 2 c : 3). Forms with ־יא are more common in Palmyrene, however, and are regularly found elsewhere.[1]

There is little here that is specially noteworthy. In (2) and (3), it will be seen that Biblical Aramaic is differentiated from Palmyrene in not exhibiting any of the forms in ־א, but as these are the less common forms in Palmyrene, and as Biblical Aramaic agrees with the universal usage in the rest of our texts, including the Nabataean, we find here scant help for the grouping.

As to the first point, however, a little notice is called for, in view of R. D. Wilson's adducing[2] variations between ־ם and ־ן in the formation of the masculine plural along with the question of the pronominal suffixes for the 2nd and 3rd persons plural, though the two questions are wholly separate, and there is really nothing in common between them. It will be seen that the ־ן is universally found for the plural termination of nouns, save in the isolated instances in Biblical Aramaic, and in two of the Zenjirli inscriptions, where, however, not ־ם but ־י appears. No conclusion whatever, therefore, could be based on the use of the ־ן. It may be noted, however, that the ־ן is preceded by י in certain groups, and not in others, and that in this respect Biblical Aramaic agrees with the usage of the Nabataean, Sinaitic, and Palmyrene inscriptions, and also with the Targums, the exceptions being very rare, while the Aramaic of Nerab, Assyria, Arabia, and Egypt disagrees. Moreover, while there are several examples in the Papyri which exceptionally agree with the usage of Biblical Aramaic, they are almost all found in the later documents of the collection. Hence, so far from an early origin, or a Babylonian origin, being supported

[1] Save for very isolated exceptions, as שוריה Ezr 4 : 16, מלכיה NSI 74 B : 7 (EO), חסיה NSI 75 : 4 (Carp stele, where Driver so takes (cf. Dr^{S} p. xii.), but not NSI or NSE).

[2] *Loc. cit.*, p. 279 f.

by this usage, as Wilson suggests, what slight indications of difference in writing we find, point us rather to the neighbourhood of Palestine, and to a later age, for affinities.

VII

An examination of all the Adverbs occurring in Biblical Aramaic, the Papyri and the Inscriptions, reveals a number of words which are only used in Biblical Aramaic and the Papyri, or in early inscriptions. Thus:

(1) כענת is found only in Ezra and Egyptian Aramaic (Ezr 4: 10. 11, 7: 12, AP 4: 6, 37: 2 (EP), S–C M a: 1, b: 1 (EO)), and כעת only in Ezra, the Papyri and Assyrian Aramaic (Ezr 4: 17, AP 17: 2 and many times in EP, AUA i.: 20 (Ass)).

(2) עוד is found only in Daniel, the Zenjirli inscriptions, and the Papyri[1] (Dn 4: 28, AP 34: 7 (EP), and written defectively, עד, NSI 61: 17 (Zenj), AP 28: 13, 34: 7 (EP)).

(3) אדין is found only in Biblical Aramaic and the Papyri (e.g., Ezr 4: 9, Dn 2: 15, and often, AP 14: 4 and often). In the Zenjirli inscriptions we find אז (NSI 61: 7, 62: 9), which may, perhaps, = *then*, and in the political letter of the time of Ashurbanipal, אזי (line 6), which Lidzbarski regards as also = *then*.[2]

(4) כחדה (= *together* = כ plus חדה) is found only in Daniel and the Papyri (Dn 2: 35, AP 28: 3).

(5) תמה is found only in Ezra and Egyptian Aramaic (Ezr 5: 17, 6: 1. 6. 12; Gir^{T} 3: 8, 5: 6, 8: 6, CIS ii. 141: 2,[3] AP 5: 4 and often). We also find תמן on an ostrakon from Elephantine (APO 65 3 *inn*: 2), and שם at Zenjirli (NSI 61: 8).

(6) כן is found only in Biblical Aramaic, Egyptian, and Cappadocian Aramaic (Ezr 5: 3, 6: 2, Dn 2: 24 *et al.*, NSI 71: 3

[1] Littmann finds it also in Nabataean, in Litt 100, where he reads ועד. Lidz., however, reads וחוער (ESE ii. p. 257), following Littmann's earlier reading.

[2] *Vide* AUA, p. 11.

[3] This may possibly = *there*, but more probable is the suggestion that it = Syr ܗܵܠܹܝܢ = *ever*. (Cf. NSI p. 206.)

(Egy), AP 21 : 4 and often in EP, ESE i. p. 67 t : 3, 323 A : 2 (Capp)).

(7) אל (prohibitive) is found only in Daniel, the ZKR and Zenjirli inscriptions, together with the Assyrian political letter and the Papyri (Dn 2 : 24, 4 : 16, 5 : 10, NSI 61 : 22. 23 *bis*. 29 (Zenj), ESE iii. p. 3 a : 13 (ZKR), AUA i. : 17 (Ass), AP 42 : 7 and often in EP).

(8) למה (= *why?*) is found only in Ezra, the Assyrian political letter, and the Papyri (Ezr 4 : 22, 7 : 23, AUA i. : 20 (Ass), AP Aḥ : 36. 119. 126. 201 (EP)).

On the other hand, in but one case do we find any difference between Biblical Aramaic and the Papyri that calls for remark, viz. :

(9) תנינות (= *a second time*), in Daniel (2 : 7), as against תרתי in the Papyri (AP Beh : 1).

On examination, however, much of this evidence is less impressive than at first appears. To take first the point of difference between Daniel and the Papyri, we find that Daniel here agrees in form with the Targums, while Palmyrene has the form תרתיא (NSI 122 : 2), which agrees with the Syriac ܬܪܬܝ. The form תרתי, found in the Papyri, is apparently different from both, though approximating the Palmyrene form, with which Sachau compares it. Lidzbarski, however, reads[1] the following word differently from Sachau—רגליא instead of דגליא—and then takes תרתי as the ordinary Construct, adducing a Minaean parallel in support of his reading. Cowley[2] follows Lidzbarski, and brings additional support in the Biblical use of רגלים in Ex. 23 : 14 and elsewhere. The single difference between Biblical Aramaic and the Papyri in this group cannot, therefore, be sustained.

As for the agreements, we may note that some are also shared with the Targums. Thus, עוד is found in the Targum of Onkelos,[3] while כחדא, which differs but in the substitution of

[1] ESE iii. p. 258.

[2] Cf. AP p. 259 f.

[3] S-C p. 20, notes עֹד as a Hebraism, and Levy^{ChW} omits. It is found, how-

terminal א for ה—a point already discussed above—and כן are also Targumic. Moreover, כענת and כעת are found only in letters, and may have been peculiar to epistolary style. As we have no letters preserved in any of the other groups of our texts, this may account for their presence in Ezra, the Papyri and an early Assyrian text, and their absence elsewhere. It may be noted, too, that the masculine form, כען, which was not confined to epistolary style, is found in Daniel, Ezra, the Papyri, and the Targums. Moreover, while תמה is found in Ezra and Egyptian Aramaic, as against תמן in the Targums, we may note that the Targumic form is also already found on an ostrakon from Elephantine. Again, למה occurs in Ezra, the Papyri, and an early Assyrian text, but its use in Ezra, where it virtually means *lest*, is closely connected with the use of למא in Palmyrene (NSI 145 : 7), where it is prohibitive, and still more closely with the Targumic דילמא, while in Ezra 7 : 23 the form די למה approximates very closely indeed to the Targumic form.

Once more, אדין, which occurs in both Daniel and Ezra, as well as in the Papyri, differs but in writing from the Targumic הידין and Syriac ܗܝܕܝܢ. It is noteworthy as being a reversal of the common tendency of the Targums to replace ה of the older dialects by א. In that change we have seen that, so far as terminations are concerned, Biblical Aramaic sometimes agrees with the older usage and sometimes with the later, and it can therefore occasion no surprise that here the agreement should be with the older, especially seeing that the Papyri here, contrary to their normal practice, have already taken the step of substituting ד for ז, so that what we have here is an intermediate form between that of the Zenjirli inscriptions, אז, or that of the Assyrian political letter, אזי, and the Targumic form.

We are left, therefore, with only the prohibitive אל. Here the only testimony we have as to its use, apart from Biblical Aramaic, is early, and it appears in more than one dialect of Early Aramaic.

ever, in Onkelos and Jonathan. Cf. Dal[AG] p. 213, where some instances from Onkelos are given.

Of the five usages, then, which Daniel shares with the Papyri, but which are not represented in the later Nabataean and Palmyrene inscriptions, two, viz. עוד and כן are found in the Targums, while a third, כחדה, is almost identical with Targumic usage. Of the remaining cases, אדין is a form intermediate between the early אז and אזי, on the one hand, and Targumic הידין on the other, leaving only the prohibitive אל. Of the six usages which Ezra has in common with the Papyri, but which are not found in the later Old Aramaic extra-Biblical sources, כן is found in the Targums, while למה, both in form and use, is very close to the Targumic למא, and אדין is an intermediate form, leaving בענת and בעת, תמה and אל.

While, then, the agreement of Biblical Aramaic with the Papyri in the matter of Adverbs may be considerably discounted, it yet remains true that Biblical Aramaic is in closer accord with the Papyri in this respect than with any other Aramaic dialect we know. It must be remembered, however, that the special character of most of the Nabataean and Palmyrene inscriptions may account for our not finding some of these adverbs represented in those dialects. In almost every case, while the words above enumerated are not found, neither are any others found to serve the same use, and it would be more than precarious to argue that the dialects did not contain any of these words. It should be remembered that even the first personal Pronoun does not appear in the Palmyrene inscriptions—a fact which should make us very cautious of arguing from silence. Usages which we know to have held at the time of the writing of the Papyri, and which we know to have become obsolete by the time of the writing of the Targums, may have become obsolete at almost any time between those dates, and in the absence of any evidence of Nabataean and Palmyrene usage on these points, we could not more closely define the limits. It is curious to note that the similarity of usage is distinctly more marked between the book of Ezra and the Papyri than in the case of the book of Daniel. Little independent weight could be attached to this, but it is interesting to observe that, slight as it is, so far as it

goes it once more points to a date for the Aramaic of Daniel somewhat subsequent to that of the Aramaic of Ezra.

VIII

From the study of the Prepositions and Conjunctions that are found in the texts we are studying, we can glean but little that is of importance for their comparison. Apart from the case of די למה, which has been referred to above in discussing למה, the following are the principal points of interest that arise:

(1) לות is used only in Ezra, a Cappadocian inscription and the Papyri (Ezr 4: 12, ESE i. p. 70 t: 1. 3 (Capp), AP 17: 7[1] (EP)).

(2) Daniel uses the form תחות[2] (7: 27), which is also found in Jer 10: 11, as against the form תחת, which is found in the Papyri (AP 26: 12).

(3) Daniel and the Palmyrene inscriptions have the form בתר (Dn 2: 39, Tar 2b: 45 (P), ESE ii. p. 271 B: 2, 274 D: 6, 282 K: 3 (P)), while Daniel has also the form באתר (7: 6. 7). The Zenjirli inscriptions have באשר (NSI 61: 27 *ter.* 32).

(4) על דברת די is found only in Daniel (2: 30, 4: 14[3]), and על דבר זי only in the Papyri (AP Aḥ: 202).

(5) The following non-Targumic forms are also found in Biblical Aramaic: להן (= *but*, *except*, Ezr 5: 12, Dn 2: 11. 30, 3: 28, 6: 6. 8), הן (= *if*, in Ezr 4: 13 *et al.*, Dn 2: 6 *et al.*) and הא כדי (= *like as*, in Dn 2: 43), in addition to the Hebraism נגד (Dn 6: 11), which is paralleled neither in the Targums nor in the Papyri or inscriptions, and בגין, which has no parallel in the Papyri or inscriptions, but is met with in the Jerusalem Targum and in Galilean Aramaic, and appears in the text of Dn 7: 15, as emended by many editors (בגין דנה for בגוא נדנה).

[1] This is the only occurrence of לות in the Papyri, and Cowley is very doubtful of it here. See note in AP, *ad loc.*

[2] With sf. written defectively, תחתוהי, Dn 4: 9. 18.

[3] So we should probably read. MT has עד דברת די.

Leaving out of account נגד and בגין, since in the case of neither do we find any affinities within the texts of the inscriptions and Papyri that would serve as a basis of comparison, we note that לות and תחות are found in the Targums, while להן, though not found in the Targums, appears not only in Biblical Aramaic and the Papyri (AP 8 : 11, 9 : 6 and often), but also in Nabataean (NSI 79 : 8, 88 : 3, 94 : 5). Further, הן is found not only in Biblical Aramaic, but also in the Zenjirli, Nerab, Nabataean and Palmyrene inscriptions (NSI 61 : 29 (Zenj), 64 : 11 (Ner), 90 : 5, CIS ii. 224 : 8 (N), Tar 2a : 5, 2c : 19. 46. 47 (P)), as well as in the Papyri (AP 5 : 7 and very often). The Targumic forms are אם and אין, with the latter of which we may compare אן, which stands in Palmyrene, (Tar 2c : 50).[1] In combination with the negative, Daniel has הן לא (2 : 5, 3 : 15. 18), which approximates to the form הנלו, found in the Papyri (AP 37 : 8, Aḥ : 35. 81). It should here be noted, however, that an Egyptian ostrakon already has the assimilated form אלה[2] (CIS ii. 139 B : 4), which closely approximates to the form אלא, found in Palmyrene (Tar 2c : 50), and in the Targums.

Again, though the Targums have not the conjunction הא כדי, they have the prepositional combination הא כ, and the conjunction היך ד, which differs but little from the form found in Daniel. Here, too, Palmyrene has היך די (Vog 71 : 2[3] Tar 2b : 18, 2c : 14. 17. 21. 26). Further, in the form בתר Daniel shares the usage of Palmyrene and the Targums, which is without any early testimony, though Daniel has also the form באתר, which leads back to the באשר of Zenjirli. Beside באתר and בתר, Daniel has also אחרי (2 : 29. 45), which alone is found in the Papyri[4] (AP Aḥ : 99 *et al.*), but here we observe that אחר appears in Nabataean (NSI 102 : 5, CIS ii. 224 : 7).

[1] Ungnad regarded אם of AP 34 : 6 as = BH אם. Cowley, however, rejects this. See AP p. 128.

[2] The meaning here, however, is far from sure.

[3] The reading of de Vogüé is אישהי כדי, but divide איש היך די.

[4] For the adverb, *afterwards*, we find אחר in the Papyri and in Cappadocian inscriptions.

The form על דברת די, which Daniel employs, is without any late parallel, either in the inscriptions or in Targumic Aramaic, and connects only with the על דבר זי of the Papyri.

We find, therefore, that in all of these cases there are examples in Nabataean, Palmyrene or the Targums, in agreement with the usage of Biblical Aramaic, with the exception of the alternative form הא כדי, באתר (closely paralleled, however, in both Palmyrene and the Targums), and על דברת די, all of which stand only in Daniel. On the other hand, only in the case of לות, להן and הן are the Papyri in full agreement with Biblical Aramaic, while in על דבר זי and תחת the difference is but slight. For הא כדי and בתר or באתר the Papyri furnish no parallels.

The material here is clearly too slight to bear much weight, but such as it is, it would still suggest that Daniel is intermediate between the Papyri and the later inscriptions and Targums.

IX

An examination of the Interjections and Particles used in our sources provides but the following points of interest:

(1) הא (demonstrative particle = *behold!*) is found in Daniel, Arabia, and the Papyri[1] (Dn 3 : 25, NSI 69 : 15 (Arab), AP 6 : 7 and often in EP). The same form, however, is found in the Targum also.

(2) אלו (= *lo!*) is found in Daniel (2 : 31, 4 : 7. 10, 7 : 8) and הלו in the Assyrian political letter (AUA i. : 9. 11. 13 *bis*), and on Egyptian ostraka (CIS ii. 137 A : 1, B : 4, APO 63 1 *inn* : 2, 64 2 *inn* : 1. 3, *auss* : 6, 65 2 *auss* : 3, S-C Mb : 5), while neither appears in the Targums. Here it is to be noted that the form found in Daniel would appear to be later than the form of the ostraka, since ה has become א. The Zenjirli inscriptions also provide instances of a variant form with ה in הנו (NSI 61 : 30. 31 *bis*), with

[1] In ESE ii. p. 258 V : 8 (N), Lidz. finds the interjection as ה in הואנתתה. NSE p. 258 tables הו of NSI 65 : 6 (Ner), as possibly this interjection, but in ESE i. p. 192 f., Lidz. rejects this view for a quite different reading and interpretation.

which we may connect הן, found by Cowley in Tax: 6 (India). Further, alongside אלו Daniel has the form ארו (7 : 2. 5. 6. 7. 13), which is probably found once in Nabataean (CIS ii. 186 : 2).[1]

(3) Interrogative ה is found only in Daniel and the political letter of Ashurbanipal's time (Dn 2 : 26 *et al.*, AUA i. : 12. 19 (Ass)). Ungnad proposes to find it in two instances in the Papyri (AP Aḥ: 139. 201), but Cowley interprets differently in both cases, and finds no trace of the interrogative particle. No link can therefore be established here between Daniel and the Papyri. On the other hand, the interrogative particle is not unknown in in Targums.[2]

(4) The particle ית, denoting the direct object, stands once in Daniel (3 : 12), once in Palmyrene (Vog 15 : 4), and several times in Nabataean (NSI 80 : 5, 90 : 6, CIS ii. 211 : 3 *bis*, 212 : 6, 7, 217 : 5, 224 : 10, RES 1102 : 5).[3] The form וית is found once at Zenjirli (NSI 61 : 28), and איתי five times in the inscription of ZKR (b : 5. 10. 11. 15. 16). The particle is not found at all in Egyptian Aramaic, but is common in the later Aramaic of the Targums. It will be noted that it is found only in the neighbourhood of Palestine in the Old Aramaic dialects, and that the particular form we find in Daniel agrees with that found in the Nabataean and Palmyrene inscriptions and in the Targums.

On this point Wilson pursues a strange argument.[4] He points out that Daniel uses ית once only, as against the frequent use in Nabataean and Onkelos. On this he comments by saying that Daniel 'differs decidedly' from Nabataean and Onkelos. The frequency of the usage in Nabataean is not, as a matter of fact, so great as he would imply. We have noted but nine, or possibly eleven, occurrences, and while this may not be a complete list of the occurrences, it is certainly nearly so. Wilson further draws our attention to the frequent use of איתי in the ZKR inscription—five times in a single inscription. But instead of commenting that

[1] So Duval. But this inscription is very uncertain and variously read.
[2] Cf. Dal[AG] p. 224.
[3] Perhaps also RES 468 : 3 *bis*. But cf. ESE ii. p. 252.
[4] *Loc. cit.*, p. 293 f.

Daniel differs still more decidedly here, since both form and frequency are different, he strangely enough finds similarity instead, and actually claims that this tells for his theory of a sixth century origin for the book of Daniel. Such determination to find comfort in the most unpromising items of evidence must command the highest admiration. Nevertheless, an unbiassed observer will assuredly find in the יתי, occurring once in Daniel, once in Palmyrene, and a few times in Nabataean, a greater degree of similarity.

(5) The particle איתי (= *there is*) is found in Biblical Aramaic (Ezr 4 : 16, 5 : 17, Dn 2 : 10 *et al.*), and the Papyri (AP 8 : 23 and often), as against the Targumic form אית. Here the usage of Biblical Aramaic is shared with the Nabataean inscriptions, while the Targumic form appears in Palmyrene, and occasionally in the Papyri, as also in the Assyrian political letter (AUA i. : 6, איתהם, with suffix, with which ct. איתיכון Dn 3 : 14. 15).

R. D. Wilson here has a note which purports to give the whole of the evidence, but which fails to do so. He says[1] that איתי 'is used in Daniel without suffixes, ten times; in Ezra, twice; in Sayce-Cowley, fifteen times; in Sachau papyri, six times; in Nabataean, twice', while אית 'is used in the Targums always; in Palmyrene once (the only time found); in Syriac and Mandean always; in Egypto-Aramaic once only'. This statement, as we have already indicated, is not complete. In Egyptian Aramaic, איתי is found *twenty-two* times[2] (AP 8 : 10. 23, 9 : 3, 15 : 18. 19. 32. 33, 20 : 5. 7, 27 : 4. 6, 28 : 12, 29 : 2, 35 : 3, 37 : 4, 80 : 4, Aḥ : 105. 111. 112. 159, S-C N : 2); in Nabataean, *sixteen* times (NSI 80 : 7, 81 : 7, 85 : 9, 86 : 2. 7, 88 : 5, 89 : 7, 90 : 8, CIS ii. 200 : 4, 210 : 7, 211 : 4, 217 : 7. 11, 224 : 11, RES 1103 : 9, 1108 : 7), while אית occurs in Palmyrene, *twice* (Tar 2 c : 25, ESE ii. p. 274 D : 7), and in the Papyri, perhaps *three* times (AP 46 : 3,

[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 291.

[2] Seven times in the Sachau collection, twelve times in the Sayce-Cowley collection, and RES 247 : 4, 361 A : 4, B : 1.

54 : 4,[1] 67 No. 7 : 3), and once written defectively, את (AP 49 : 2).

It will be seen that though Biblical Aramaic differs from the Targums and from Palmyrene in this respect, no difficulty is provided as against the late date for Biblical Aramaic. A use which is thus amply attested in Nabataean, as well as in the Papyri, cannot be used to embarrass a theory of either an early or a later date, though Wilson's note, with its surprising under-statement of the Nabataean evidence,[2] would suggest that it can.

On each of these five points, therefore, we find that the usage of Biblical Aramaic is attested at least as late as the Nabataean inscriptions, save for the form אלו alone, while both אלו and ארו are without early attestation, and are almost certainly of later origin than the form הלו, presented on the ostraka. Biblical Aramaic has only two of these usages in common with the Papyri, viz., הא and איתי, and of these one is Targumic and the other is common in Nabataean. While, therefore, we have little here that can sustain much weight, so far as the evidence goes, it would again suggest that Biblical Aramaic is later than the Papyri, and would point us to the later dialects for the closest connexions.

X

From the study of the verbal forms found in Biblical Aramaic, the Papyri, and the Inscriptions, the following points of interest emerge:

(1) Biblical Aramaic agrees with the Targums in employing תון־ for the termination of the Perfect, 2nd pers. masc. plur., while the Papyri have תם־ and תן־, e. g.,

in Ezra, שלחתון (4 : 18);

in Daniel, הזמנתון[3] (2 : 9), חזיתון (2 : 8);

[1] APO and APE read אחת, but Cowley pronounces the reading איתּ certain.

[2] A glance at Cook's *Aramaic Glossary* would have shown ten occurrences in Nabataean.

[3] Kr הזדמנתון.

in the Papyri, שאילתם (AP 20 : 8), הוטבתם (20 : 8) and רחמתן (25 : 9).

(2) Biblical Aramaic terminates the Perfect, 1st pers. plur., in ־נא, whereas the Papyri have ־ן, e.g.,

in Ezra, שלחנא (4 : 14), אמרנא (5 : 4. 9), הודענא (4 : 14), שאלנא (5 : 9. 10);

in Daniel, השכחנא (6 : 6), בעינא (2 : 23), רמינא (3 : 24);

in the Papyri, עבדן (AP 14 : 3, 37 : 5), משחן (31 : 20), פרישן (27 : 10), הודען (30 : 29), שתין (30 : 21, 31 : 20), רשין (20 : 6. 16), אשתוין (28 : 2), החוין (26 : 7), הוין (30 : 15, 31 : 14).

In the Assyrian political letter we find the ending ־ן in אחזן[1] (AUA i. : 5). It should be added that again the usage of Biblical Aramaic is in accord with that of the Targums.

(3) For the termination of the Perfect, 3rd pers. masc. plur., we find forms in ־ו in Biblical Aramaic, the ZKR, Zenjirli, Nerab, Assyrian, Indian, Nabataean, and Sinaitic inscriptions, and the Papyri. In Palmyrene we find similar forms, but also, alongside them, triliteral forms, identical with those of the 3rd pers. masc. sing. Examples of the regular usage are common throughout our texts, and we therefore select here only the following cases from Palmyrene:

כתב (Tar 1 : 9), עבד (Vog 34 : 1), רחק (ESE ii. p. 269 A : 1, 271 B : 1, 272 C : 3), נחת (NSI 113 : 4), אקים (113 : 3), as against סלקו (NSI 115 : 2), עבדו (110 : 1 and often), שפרו (110 : 4), אסקו (Tar 1 : 5), אקימו (NSI 114 : 2), בנו (Vog 30 a : 3, b : 2), הוו (Tar 1 : 5 *et al.*).

(4) Examples of the Perfect, 3rd pers. fem. plur., are very rare, and are found only in Daniel and Nabataean. In both the termination ־ו is found, as against Targumic ־א. It should be noted, however, that the Ḳr in Daniel alters in every case to ־ה.[2] We find:

[1] In line 20, שלחנה has probably the suffix attached, though Lidz. suggested in his earlier edition (*ZA* xxxi. pp. 193–202) that it was the old ending, without the suffix.

[2] Cf. KGBA p. 46.

in Daniel, נפלו (7 : 20), נפקו (5 : 5), אתעקרו (7 : 8);

in Nabataean, עבדו[1] (NSI 80 : 1, 85 : 1).

(5) For the Imperfect, 3rd pers. masc. plur., we find forms terminating in ־ן in Daniel, Ezra, the Nabataean, and Palmyrene inscriptions and an inscription from Cilicia. We find examples written without the ו in Palmyrene and the Assyrian political letter. The Zenjirli and Nerab inscriptions employ the ending ־ו, and we find this also in Jer 10 : 11, and once in Ezra. The Papyri have a number of instances of ־ו, but more commonly employ ־ון. Of the very many examples that occur, especially in Daniel and the Papyri, the following may be selected:

in Ezra, ינתנון (4 : 13), יתיבון (5 : 5), יהתיבון (6 : 5), יבנון (6 : 7), להון (6 : 10 *et al.*), ישתכללון (4 : 13. 16), but יחיטו[2] (4 : 12);

in Daniel, יפלחון (3 : 28, 7 : 14. 27), יסגדון (3 : 28), יקבלון (7 : 18), ינדעון (4 : 14), יתיהבון (7 : 25), יהודעון (2 : 30), יתשמון (2 : 5);

in Jer 10 : 11, יאבדו;

in the Zenjirli inscriptions, יעבדו (NSI 61 : 7), יתנו (61 : 4), יקחו (61 : 12);

in the Nerab inscriptions, יהאבדו (NSI 64 : 11), יסחו (64 : 9), יהבאשו (65 : 9);

in Assyrian Aramaic, יכורן (AUA i. : 18), יבואן (*ibid.* : 16);

in Egyptian Aramaic, יקרבון (AP 30 : 25, 32 : 9), יקבלון (6 : 16, 10 : 18), ישפטון (Aḥ : 104), יסתבלון (Aḥ : 73), יהשכחון (38 : 7), יהשחתון (Aḥ : 155), but also יעבדו (26 : 5), ישאלו (37 : 2 *et al.*), יאכמו (Aḥ : 157), ינדשו (30 : 8, 31 : 7), יקמו (50 : 6), יאכלו (NSI 73 B : 3);

in Cilician Aramaic, יתבון[3] (Guzneh : 2 f.);

in Nabataean, יכתבון (NSI 90 : 4), יקברון (90 : 6), יתקברון (85 : 4, 90 : 2, CIS ii. 203 : 3, 219 : 3), יזבנון (NSI 90 : 3), יוגרון (*ibid.*), ימשכנון (*ibid.*);

in Palmyrene, יבנון (Tar 1 : 8), יהן (Tar 2 c : 24. 49, Vog 71 : 2), but also יהן (Tar 2 b : 7, 2 c : 19).

[1] Feminine subject follows in both cases. NSI also regards as fem. plur. אבני (102 : 5), where also fem. plur. subject follows, but NSE (p. 401) takes as masc. sing.

[2] The text here is generally held to be corrupt.

[3] So Torrey, in *ZA* xxvi. p. 90 f., but others read differently.

(6) Daniel and Egyptian Aramaic provide a few instances of the Imperfect, 3rd pers. fem. plur. These all terminate in ־ן, in agreement with Targumic usage, save one case in Daniel, where in the text ־ון is found, as in the masculine form, while the Ḳᵉri alters to ־ן. Nabataean here, as in the Perfect, does not distinguish between the masculine and feminine forms, and writes both with ־ון. In should, however, be stated that the only cases that occur in Nabataean, both of the Perfect and the Imperfect, have the feminine subject following, and may be regarded as instances of incomplete concord. The same may be said of the text of Dn 4 : 9. We find:

in Daniel, ישכנן (4 : 18), ידורן (4 : 9 Ḳr, but Kt ידרון), להוֵן (5 : 17);

in Egyptian Aramaic, ישכחן[1] (S–C Mb : 6);

in Nabataean, יתקברין (NSI 89 : 3, 93 : 2).

(7) Biblical Aramaic generally uses the prefix הת־ in forming the Perfect of the reflexive stems of Peal and Pael, while the later Papyri, which alone of the Papyri provide examples, and the Nerab and Palmyrene inscriptions, agree in using את־, which is also found several times in Daniel. A solitary reflexive stem found in the Zenjirli dialect has הת־.[2] Thus we find:

in Ezra, השתכח (6 : 2), התנדבו (7 : 15), התנבי (5 : 1);

in Daniel, השתכח (2 : 35, 6 : 24), התגזרת (2 : 34), השתכחת (5 : 11 *et al.*), השתכחת (5 : 27), התרחצו (3 : 28), התחרך (3 : 27), הזדמנתון (2 : 9 Ḳr), התמלי (3 : 19), התרוממת (5 : 23), but also אתגזרת (2 : 45), אתכרית (7 : 15), אשתומם (4 : 16), אתיעטו (6 : 8), אתעקרו (7 : 8), אשתנו (3 : 19);

[1] Fem. subject here follows. In AP 69 : 5, Sachau and Ungnad read יחטרן, which would presumably have to be regarded as fem. plur., since the masc. is only found in these texts in ־ון and ־ו, though the context is here too broken to be of any use. The first letter is only conjectural, however, and the form is therefore far from certain.

[2] In the Avroman parchment, line 2, Barnett reads אתמר, which he regards as perhaps 3 m.s. perf. of Ethpa. Cowley, however, reads quite differently. A few doubtful instances are found in Nabataean, as אתפני or אתכליל (CIS ii. 186 : 4—a very problematical text), אבני (NSI 102 : 5, perhaps for אתבני).

in Zenjirli, התנאבו [1] (NSI 63 : 14);

in Nerab, אתאחז (NSI 65 : 4), אתהמו [2] (65 : 6);

in the Papyri,[3] אתנפק (AP 71 : 29), אשתכח (27 : 2. 13), אשתמיע (Aḥ : 70), אשתכחו (34 : 4), אתנצחו (Beh : 60), אתעשת (30 : 23), אשתדרו (38 : 4), אתכנשו (Beh : 10 *et al.*), אתבציו (50 : 5), אשתון (28 : 2), אתח[] [4] (34 : 4);

in Palmyrene, אשלמת (Vog 95 : 4), אתחזי (Tar 1 : 7 *et al.*).

(8) Daniel forms the Infinitive of the reflexive stem by prefixing הת־, and suffixing ־ה (התקטלה 2 : 13, התבהלה 2 : 25, 3 : 24, 6 : 20), whereas Palmyrene prefixes מת־, and suffixes ־ו (מתחשבו Tar 2 c : 4). The form used in the Targums has prefix את־ and suffix ־א. Ezra provides us with but one instance of a reflexive Infinitive, which happens to be in the construct (התנדבות 7 : 16). Kautzsch [5] regards this as from התנדבה, but the termination is more naturally to be compared with the Palmyrene example in ־ו.

(9) Biblical Aramaic, with few exceptions, agrees with the Aramaic of the ZKR inscription and of Zenjirli, Nerab, Babylonia, Cilicia, and the Papyri, in forming the causative stem with prefix ה־, while Sinaitic and Palmyrene agree with the Targums in using א־. Nabataean has both usages. Of innumerable examples, especially in Daniel and the Papyri, the following may suffice to illustrate the usage:

in Ezra, הנפק (5 : 14 *bis*, 6 : 5), השכחו (4 : 19), הרגזו (5 : 12), היבל (5 : 14, 6 : 5), הודענא (4 : 14), הותב (4 : 10);

in Daniel, הצלח (3 : 30, 6 : 29), השפלת (5 : 22), השכחת (2 : 25), הלבשו (5 : 29), החסנו (7 : 22), הנפק (5 : 2), הקימת (7 : 5);

in the ZKR inscription, העמקו (a : 10), הוחד (a : 4), הרמו (a : 10), המלכני (a : 3);

[1] SAC, following Sachau, regards as error for התנדבו. NSE tables as from root אבה, while Hoffmann connects with root יאב.

[2] So Cooke, following Lidz. Others, however, read differently.

[3] On an Elephantine ostrakon (S-C Ma : 1), Lidz. finds an example in Egyptian Aramaic in ה־, reading הודהרו (ESE ii. p. 401), where Cowley's reading was הנוהרי.

[4] This word is differently completed by different editors. See AP p. 128.

[5] K[GBA] p. 57.

in the Zenjirli inscriptions, הכבר (NSI 62 : 4), העבר (62 : 18), הושבת (61 : 19), הקם (62 : 18), הקמת (61 : 1), הרפי (62 : 8 *bis*), הושבני (62 : 19, 63 : 5), היטבה (62 : 9), היטבתה (63 : 12);

in the Nerab inscriptions, הארך (NSI 65 : 3);

in Babylonian and Assyrian Aramaic, הקרב (CIS ii. 75 : 4), הושר (AUA i. : 14);

in Cilicia, הקם (*JAOS* xxxv. p. 372 t : 1);

in Egyptian Aramaic, השכח (AP 30 : 14, 31 : 13), הרכב (Aḥ : 191), החסן (20 : 7), השכחת (42 : 7. 8), הנפקת (7 : 5), הושרת (S-C Ma : 6), הקימת (AP Aḥ : 44), העדת (15 : 35);

in Nabataean, הקים (NSI 97 col. i. : 1 *et al.*), and אקימו (CIS ii. 164 : 1), אחיי (NSI 101 : 12 *et al.*);

in Sinaitic, אחרבו (Eut^{S} 463);

in Palmyrene, אחבר (NSI 144 : 2), אוקרת (RES 351 : 3), אקדשו (Vog 71 : 1), אפק (Tar 2 b : 43), אסק (NSI 116, 4), אסקו (Tar 1 : 5), אקימו (NSI 114 : 2), אשרת (Tar 1 : 3), אחברתה (NSI 144 : 6), ארצי[1] (Vog 139 : 1).

Wilson finds here 'one of the strongest proofs of its (i.e. the the book of Daniel's) early date',[2] and seizes on Nabataean as the crux of the position. He says 'the Nabataean always has Aleph, except in two cases, both from the same verb'. This statement repays a little examination, however. The two examples of ה־ in Nabataean are הקים in NSI 97 col. i. : 1, CIS ii. 349 : 2. On the other hand, the following examples of א־ are all that we have been able to find: אקימו CIS ii. 164 : 1,[3] אחיי NSI 101 : 12, CIS ii. 183 : 4, RES 86 : 4, 1434 : 6. 12, אחי RES 468 : 5. It should be added that de Vogüé read אקדיש in Vog^{H} 8 : 2, but the reading is very uncertain, and CIS reads אסרתגא (ii. 169 : 2), pronouncing the former reading improbable. The Nabataean inscriptions, therefore, appear to present two examples of ה־, and

[1] So de Vogüé and Mordtmann read. But possibly a Proper Noun, ארצו.

[2] *Loc. cit.*, p. 292.

[3] Baumgartner says (*ZAW loc. cit.*, p. 106) that Nabataean has '*mehrfaches* אקימו', and refers for support to NSE p. 362, where but a single instance from Nabataean is cited. In NSE, however, pa has been omitted before the following reference, and this doubtless misled Baumgartner. (Read 3 pl. אקימו na 164$_1$; pa Vog 5$_3$.)

seven examples of א־. The implication of Wilson's 'always' is therefore scarcely justified.

Wilson concludes his note by saying 'It will thus be seen that in this respect, the usage of Daniel is decidedly with the earlier dialects and against the later ones'. A different conclusion may, however, be drawn. Since the inscriptions of ZKR, Zenjirli, Nerab, Babylonia and Cilicia present only examples of ה־, while Palmyrene has only א־,[1] in agreement with the later practice of the Targums, we should conclude that the Papyri, Biblical Aramaic and Nabataean lay somewhere between these early inscriptions and Palmyrene in their stage of development, since ה־ and א־ are both found in them. It is instructive, however, to note the number of occurrences of א־ in these texts. In the Papyri there is but a single instance of א־, found in one of the latest texts (אחבו AP 34 : 6),[2] while in Biblical Aramaic there are four instances. Wilson says Daniel has א־ but twice. There are, however, three occurrences in Daniel, and one in Ezra, viz. אקימה Dn 3 : 1, אתרו 4 : 11, אחוית 5 : 12, אחת Ezr 5 : 15. In Nabataean, as we have seen, there are seven examples of א־. The evidence would therefore suggest that towards the close of the fifth century B.C., the א־ was just beginning to appear beside the ה־, and that by the beginning of the Christian era there was a preference for א־ among the Nabataeans. The proportion of occurrences of א־ in Ezra and Daniel is considerably higher than in the Papyri, and this would once more suggest that Biblical Aramaic is inter-

[1] Baumgartner again inaccurately states (*ibid.*) that Palmyrene once has הקים, referring to NSE p. 503, where, however, it is a Nabataean inscription that is cited, with pa for na before it, by a misprint. The inscription is the one cited above as CIS ii. 349.

[2] Baumgartner (*ibid.*) adduces אושר and ואושר, which Lidz. proposes (ESE iii. p. 257 *n*) to read in APO 65 1 *inn* : 3. 4 (EO). The form would then be 1st pers. sing. Imperf., however, the א־ not being the causative prefix, but the 1st. personal prefix. In the same place, Baumgartner further adduces אעבהי, which Lidz. reads in ESE iii. p. 20 Aa : 3 (EO). Lidz. takes this as Imperative of causative of עבב, the prefix being exceptionally weakened to ■ under the influence of the following ע. This is very improbable. Possibly it is 3rd pers. sing. Perf., or 1st. pers. sing. Imperf., of causative of עוב = *conceal.* The form is in any case too uncertain to be safely used as evidence for any usage.

mediate between that of the Papyri and the Nabataean dialect. So far, therefore, from our having here a strong proof of the early date of Daniel, as Wilson claims, we can only say with certainty that since Daniel exhibits a usage which appears but in the latest documents from Elephantine, it is wholly improbable that it represents the usage of the sixth century B.C., while, on the other hand, it shows less preference for the later usage than do the Nabataean inscriptions. But this conclusion is far more damaging to Wilson's theory than the one he controverts.

(10) Biblical Aramaic usually retains ־ה in the Imperfect and the Participle of the causative stem, as do the dialects of the ZKR inscription and the inscriptions from Nerab, Arabia, and Assyria, and also the Papyri. In Nabataean and Palmyrene, as also in Zenjirli and Cilicia, the prefix is dropped, as occasionally in Biblical Aramaic and the Papyri, and regularly in the Targums. The following selection of examples will suffice to illustrate the usage:

in Ezra, תהנזק (4 : 13), תהשכח (4 : 15, 7 : 16), תהודעון (7 : 25), יהתיבון (6 : 5), יהשנא (6 : 11), מהנזקת (4 : 15), מהקרבין (6 : 10), מהחתין (6 : 1), but תחת (6 : 5), יחיטו (4 : 12), יתיבון (5 : 5), מצלח (5 : 8), מצלחין (6 : 14);

in Daniel, יהשפל (7 : 24), נהשכח (6 : 6), תהובד (2 : 24), יהובדון (2 : 18), יחודע (2 : 25), יהודעון (2 : 30), יהקים (5 : 21, 6 : 16), יהחוה (5 : 12), תהחון (2 : 6), נהחוה (2 : 7), מהחצפה (2 : 15), מהודא (2 : 23), מהודעין (4 : 4), מהקים (2 : 21), but יקים (2 : 44, 4 : 14), תסף (2 : 44), תקים (6 : 9), תדק (2 : 40. 44), תטלל (4 : 9), יחסנון (7 : 18), משפל (5 : 19), מחצפה (3 : 22), מצל (6 : 28), מורא (6 : 11);

in the ZKR inscription, יהגע (b : 16. 19);

in Zenjirli, יזכר[1] (NSI 61 : 16), יקם (61 : 28), יתכה[2] (61 : 23);

in Nerab, יהאברו (NSI 64 : 11), יהבאשו (65 : 9);

in Arabia, יהנ[פק] (NSI 69 : 21);

In Assyrian Aramaic, יהתב (AUA i. : 11);

in Cilicia,[3] תתב (Guzneh : 3), יתבון (*ibid.*);

[1] So Cooke (NSI p. 168). NSE and SAC both apparently regard as Peal.

[2] So Cooke (NSI p. 169). Again, NSE and SAC appear to regard as Peal.

[3] Torrey finds these two forms in this inscription, but other scholars read quite differently.

in Egyptian Aramaic, יהנפק (AP 13 : 11), תהנפק (15 : 25. 28), יהנפקון (8 : 15. 17), אהנצל (8 : 18, 18 : 3), תהנצל (9 : 10), תהשכח (Aḥ : 34), יהוספון (26 : 18), יהחוה (Aḥ : 93), מהחסן (7 : 2, 8 : 2, 16 : 2), תשכחון (10 : 9. 10. 17), but תשבח (26 : 3), מהחסנן (37 : 9), מהשדך (37 : 10), ינפק (13 : 12), מצלח (Aḥ : 125);

in Nabataean, ינפק (NSI 79 : 2 *et al.*), יאגר (Eut 23 : 2, 27 : 9); יוגר (NSI 79 : 7 *et al.*), ישאל (86 : 4), יוגרון (90 : 3), מחרם (86 : 3);

in Palmyrene, יבנון (Tar 1 : 8), מקבל (NSI 143 : 9), מקבלא (143 : 8, 144 : 6), מקבלא (143 : 5), מפק (Tar 2 a : 34 *et al.*), מפקא Tar 2 b : 47), מודא (NSI 138 : 2 *et al.*), מודיא (Vog 83 a : 2, b : 3), מודן (NSI 139 : 1), מעל (Tar 2 b : 30), מעלי (Tar 2 a : 1).

(11) Biblical Aramaic and the Papyri provide examples of the passive of Peal. The same usage is illustrated in Nabataean and in the Palmyrene Tariff.[1] Thus we find, e.g.:

in Ezra, כתיב (5 : 7, 6 : 2), יהיבו (5 : 14), שים (4 : 19 *et al.*), קרי (4 : 18. 23);

in Daniel, יהיב (7 : 4. 6), טריד (4 : 30. 5 : 21), נטילת (7 : 4), קטילת (7 : 11), מריטו (7 : 4), פתיחו (7 : 10), רמיו (3 : 21, 7 : 9);

in the Papyri, כתיב (AP 5 : 10. 13 *et al.*), קטיל (Aḥ : 71), שליח (21 : 3, 26 : 6), לקיחת (AP p. 265, t : 1), טעינת[2] (8 : 24), קטילו (30 : 17, 31 : 16);

in Nabataean, עבידת (NSI 96 : 8);

in Palmyrene, גבי[3] (Tar 1 : 13).

An Imperfect Passive of Peal is found in the Papyri by Nöldeke in יִמנע (AP Aḥ : 136), and in Palmyrene in יכתב (Tar 1 : 8) by Bevan,[4] Cook,[5] and Brockelmann.[6]

(12) Biblical Aramaic, the Zenjirli inscriptions, and most prob-

[1] No account is here taken of the Passive Participle, which is common in Nabataean, Sinaitic and Palmyrene, especially with the words בריך and דכיר, as well as in Biblical Aramaic and Egyptian Aramaic, since this form persisted long after the inflected forms of the Perfect had ceased to be used.

[2] So AP, following ESE iii. p. 79, line 35. S-C regarded the direct object as a difficulty in the way of this, but Lidz. holds it to be passive in form, though used transitively.

[3] So Wr^{CG} p. 225, following Sachau. Others, however, regard as Passive Participle.

[4] *Dan.* p. 219. [5] SAC p. 66. [6] GVG i. p. 539.

ably Palmyrene, have (H)Ophal forms, and Palmyrene possibly also a Pual form.[1] Thus we find, e.g.:

in Ezra, החרבת (4 : 15);

in Daniel, הנחת (5 : 20), הסק (6 : 24), הובד (7 : 11), העל (5 : 13), התקנת (4 : 33), הוספת (4 : 33), הקימת (7 : 4), העלו (5 : 15);

in Zenjirli, מומת (NSI 61 : 24. 26);

in Palmyrene, אשר (Tar 1 : 9), יכתב[2] (Tar 1 : 8), אסקו (Tar 1 : 5), מבטל (Tar 1 : 10), מאפק (Tar 2 c : 12), מסק (Tar 1 : 8); and Pual in יזבן (Tar 2 a : 4, 2 b : 6).

Some doubt, however, attaches to these Palmyrene forms. R. D. Wilson maintains that Palmyrene had no Ophal, and affirms that the Hophal is a distinctively Hebrew form, its presence in Biblical Aramaic, therefore, being a Hebraism. Cooke offers an explanation of each of these Palmyrene forms without resort to Pual or Hophal, and Lidzbarski would seem to prefer to treat the forms otherwise.[3] Sachau, however, urged[4] that these were genuine Hophal and Pual forms, and he has been followed by many scholars, including Wright,[5] Bevan,[6] Driver,[7] and S. A. Cook.[8] In view of this difference of opinion, no certainty is possible, but we must at least recognize the possibility that we have here Hophal and Pual forms. The fact that at Zenjirli we have מומת, and that we find a Hophal Participle occasionally in the Targum,[9] and also in Modern Syriac,[10] would seem to support the possibility of explaining these Palmyrene forms in this way, and would tell

[1] מחרם in NSI 86 : 3 (N) may be regarded as Aphel participle passive, or as Ophel participle. In AP 20 : 7, Lidz. reads הפקדו, which would then give us a Hophal in Egyptian Aramaic. The reading is, however, very uncertain. The participles מערב (AP 2 : 5) and מפרש (AP 17 : 3) are passive participles of Pael, just as מפרש in Ezr 4 : 18.

[2] So WrCG p. 225. Others, more probably, regard as Imperfect passive of Peal. See above.

[3] Cf. NSE pp. 402 f., where only אשר is put under (H)Ophal, and there noted as uncertain, the other forms being placed in brackets under other conjugations.

[4] *ZDMG* xxxvii. pp. 564 f.

[5] WrCG p. 225.

[6] *Dan.* pp. 37, 219.

[7] LOT p. 504.

[8] SAC, *s. vv.* כתב, זבן, נפק, סלק and שרר.

[9] Cf. DalAG p. 253.

[10] Cf. WrCG p. 226.

against the claim that in Biblical Aramaic these forms are to be treated as Hebraisms.[1]

(13) The first radical of פ״ן verbs is assimilated in the Peal Imperfect and Infinitive in the inscription of ZKR, the Zenjirli and Palmyrene inscriptions, but not in the Nerab, Arabian, and Nabataean inscriptions, or ordinarily in the Papyri. Biblical Aramaic has both uses, and there are occasional cases of assimilation in late Papyri, and one in the Nerab inscriptions. We may select the following examples in illustration of the different usages:

in Ezra, תנתן (7 : 20), ינתנון (4 : 13), מנתן (7 : 20), but יפל (7 : 20);

in Daniel, ינתן (2 : 16), but יתננה (4 : 14. 22. 29), יפל (3 : 6. 10. 11), תפלון (3 : 5. 15);

in the ZKR inscription, אישא (a : 11, b : 27);

in the Zenjirli inscriptions, יתן (NSI 61 : 23), יתנו (61 : 4);[2]

in the Nerab inscriptions, ינצר (NSI 64 : 13), תנצר (*ibid.* : 12), but יסחו (*ibid.* : 9);

in Arabia, ינסחוהי (NSI 69 : 14);

in Egyptian Aramaic, ינתן (AP 1 : 6 and very often), ינתנהי (RES 1295 : 9), ינסח (AP Aḥ : 156. 211), י[נ]טרנהי (Aḥ : 209), תנפק (9 : 9, Aḥ : 124), תנתן (28 : 7 *et al.*), תנפק (5 : 12), אנתן (5 : 7 and often), אנתננה (RES 1295 : 5), ינתנו (AP 26 : 6), ינדשו (30 : 8, 31 : 7), תנתנון (66, No. 16), ננתן (2 : 11 *et al.*), מנתן (8 : 16 *et al.*), מנטר (Aḥ : 192), מנפק (5 : 14), but יתן (81 : 64), תתן (81 : 24), יתנון (82 : 8, 9), יחתון (71 : 15);

in Nabataean, ינתן (NSI 79 : 3. 6, 80 : 5);

in Palmyrene, יתן (Tar 2 a : 5, 2 b : 20).

R. D. Wilson's note on this point calls for some consideration. His remark[3] that in Palmyrene the first consonant in the Imperfect of verbs פ״ן 'is assimilated almost always, except before He

[1] Cf. Powell, *The Supposed Hebraisms in the Grammar of the Biblical Aramaic*, pp. 41–44, where the question is discussed at length.

[2] In NSI 61 : 10 we find Infinitive נצב, where the נ is retained, since the Zenjirli dialect does not prefix מ־.

[3] *Loc. cit.*, p. 290.

or Ayin' is an enigma to the present writer, who has found no unassimilated cases in Palmyrene, and of assimilated cases but one word twice in the same inscription. Wilson proceeds to differentiate between Daniel and Nabataean by saying that Daniel retains the נ once only, while the Nabataeans retained it always. A little examination, however, makes it clear that no difference whatever can be established between the usage of Daniel and that of Nabataean. In the Peal Nabataean furnishes but three occurrences of the Imperfect of a verb, and all of these are of the same verb. It happens that examples of the retention of the נ in Biblical Aramaic are confined to the same verb, נתן. What Nabataean did with נפל, where Biblical Aramaic assimilates, we are not in a position to say, nor whether Nabataean would have assimilated in the Imperfect of נתן in suffixal forms, as does Daniel. In the Haphel, Nabataean furnishes a number of instances of unassimilated נ, but all are forms of the one verb, נפק, as will appear below. These instances belong rather to the following paragraph of the present study, where the evidence for the retention or assimilation of נ in the Haphel is stated. For the retention in the Haphel Imperfect is on exactly the same footing as the retention in the Haphel Perfect. Here it will suffice to say that this usage of Nabataean in the Haphel Imperfect of נפק is precisely paralleled by Daniel's retention of נ in the Haphel Perfect of the same verb, which is again the only verb of which Daniel provides any example of the retention of נ in the Haphel. We are therefore able to say that we have positive evidence that both Daniel and Nabataean retained the נ in the Peal Imperfect of נתן, and in the Haphel of נפק, while so far as other verbs are concerned, evidence is wholly lacking to establish any difference of usage between the two dialects.

(14) In Biblical Aramaic, the Arabian and Nabataean inscriptions, and the Papyri, the first radical of פ"ן verbs is retained in (H)Aphel, but in Palmyrene it is assimilated. A few instances of assimilation are found in Biblical Aramaic. Thus we find:

in Ezra, הנפק (5 : 14 *bis*, 6 : 5). תהנזק (4 : 13), הנזקת (4 : 22), מהנזקת (4 : 15), but תחת (6 : 5), אחת (5 : 15), מהחתין (6 : 1);

in Daniel, הנפק (5 : 2), הנפקו (5 : 3), but אתרו (4 : 11), הצלה (3 : 29), הצלותה (6 : 15), מצל (6 : 28);

in Arabia, יהנ[פק (NSI 69 : 21):

in the Papyri, הנפקה (AP Aḥ : 109), הנפקת (7 : 5), הנפקו (30 : 16, 31 : 15), יהנפק (13 : 11), ינפק (13 : 12), יהנשג (Aḥ : 200), תהנפק (15 : 25. 28), תהנשק[1] (Aḥ : 103), תהנצל (9 : 10), תהנצלנ[הי] (Aḥ : 81), אהנצל (8 : 18, 18 : 3), יהנפקון (8 : 15. 17), נשגון[יה][2] (Aḥ : 133), הנחת (42 : 13), הנפק (Aḥ : 99), הנפקי (8 : 27);

in Nabataean, ינפק (NSI 79 : 2, 80 : 5. 9, 86 : 5, 87 : 3, 90 : 7, 93 : 4, CIS ii. 211 : 3, 215 : 2, 222 : 3, 224 : 2, RES 1102 : 5, 1103 : 2);

in Palmyrene, אפק (Tar 2 b : 43), מפק (Tar 2 a : 34, 2 b : 31. 36), מפקא (Tar 2 b : 47).

It has been remarked above that we have evidence of the retention of נ in Daniel in the case of one verb only, and that the instances we find in Nabataean are all of this same verb. Palmyrene presents us with this verb without the נ. The Papyri have both this verb and others with the נ retained, while Ezra retains it in both נפק and נזק. In contrast to the Papyri, however, Ezra assimilates the נ in נחת, while Daniel, also in contrast to the Papyri, assimilates in נצל. While our evidence, therefore, is insufficient to establish any differences between Biblical Aramaic and Nabataean, it does establish differences between Biblical Aramaic and the Papyri.

(15) Biblical Aramaic differs from the Papyri in inserting נ in the Peal Imperfect of ידע. Thus we find:

in Ezra, תנדע (4 : 15);

in Daniel, תנדע (2 : 30, 4 : 22. 23. 29), אנדע (2 : 9), ינדעון (4 : 14);

in the Papyri, תדע (AP Aḥ : 187).

(16) Biblical Aramaic agrees with Palmyrene in assimilating the ל of סלק in the (H)Aphel, but once inserts נ in compensation. Thus we find:

in Daniel, הסקו (3 : 22), הנסקה (6 : 24);

[1] So Sachau, Epstein, Nöldeke, and Baneth. But Ungnad and Cowley divide and read differently.

[2] So Cowley. APO read שנגרן.

in Palmyrene, אסק (NSI 116 : 4), אסקו (Tar 1 : 5), מסק (Tar 1 : 8).

Here again, R. D. Wilson has a note which calls for some examination. He cites a mass of evidence,[1] mainly on the verbs סלק and הלך, at the conclusion of which he endeavours to give the impression that there is a significant agreement between Daniel and Egyptian Aramaic. An examination of the evidence he brings forward, however, shows that what agreement there is has no special significance. Apart from the one word הנסקה, which is peculiar to Daniel, and is not paralleled either from the Papyri or from any other Aramaic source, no differences whatever can be established between the treatment accorded these verbs in any of our texts or in the Targums. Wilson deplores that certain forms are 'found only in Daniel, Onkelos, Syriac, Mandean, and Samaritan'. He recognizes that in the absence of any examples of the forms used in the older groups, we must beware of attaching significance to this agreement. Yet instead of similarly deploring that another form is found only in Biblical Aramaic and the Papyri, he hails this as significant. He regards it as significant because the ל of הלך is retained here alone. Yet the retention is precisely what we should antecedently expect, and is perfectly regular. Wilson creates confusion by saying that 'Daniel agrees with Egypto-Aramaic in retaining the Lomadh in forms of הלך in which the preformative is Mem'. Presumably he wishes to create the impression that מהך of Ezra 7 : 13, and of the Targums, stands on the same footing as מהלך of Daniel and of the Papyri. Egyptian Aramaic has מהך for the Infinitive Peal of הלך in APO 63 5 : 2, exactly as Ezra and the Targums, but for the Pael Participle it has מְהַלְּךָ in AP Aḥ : 40, precisely as we find in Dn 4 : 26. The retention of ל where it is doubled is no significant agreement, for the Targums have the same form, and it is exactly what we should expect. As to the Haphel participle, מהלכין, found in Dn 3 : 25, 4 : 34, we have no parallel instance, even in the Papyri, so that no agreement can be found here. It is probable, however,

[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 277 f.

that the Massoretic pointing is incorrect, and that we should read Pael.

(17) Daniel and the Papyri sometimes introduce נ into the Peal Imperfect, Haphel Perfect, Imperfect, Imperative and Infinitive of עלל, but also have forms without the נ. Palmyrene has only forms without the נ, with which usage the inscriptions from Nineveh are in agreement. Thus we find:

in Daniel, הנעל (2 : 25, 6 : 19), הנעלה (4 : 3), but העלני (2 : 24), העלה (5 : 7);

in Nineveh, יעל (CIS ii. 43 : 5);

in the Papyri, הנעלת (AP 15 : 6. 7. 24. 27), ינעל (Aḥ : 206), יהנעלו (42 : 12), but אעל (APO 64 2 *inn* : 2);

in Palmyrene, מעליך (RES 1043 : 2), מעל (Tar 2 b : 30, RES 1042 : 2, 1044 : 4), מעלי (Tar 2 a : 1).

(18) Of Shaphel forms, we may note that Daniel and Nabataean have שיזב, while the Papyri have שזב, which stands once in Nabataean. This form appears also to occur in a Proper Name in Arabia in צלמשזב (NSI 69 : 9). Ezra has the forms שיציא and שכלל. Thus we find:

in Ezra, שיציא (6 : 15), שכללה (5 : 11), שכללו (4 : 12, 6 : 14), שכללה (5 : 3. 9), and Ishtaphel in ישתכללון (4 : 13. 16);

in Daniel, שיזב (3 : 28, 6 : 28), ישיזב (3 : 17), ישיזבנך (6 : 17), ישיזבנכון (3 : 15), שיזבותנא (3 : 17), שיזבותך (6 : 21), שיזבותה (6 : 15), משיזב (6 : 28);

in the Papyri, שזבך (AP Aḥ : 46), שזבוני (38 : 5), נשזבנ[הי] (54 : 9);

in Nabataean, שיזב (NSI 101 : 12, RES 468 : 5,[1] 1434 : 6.[2] 12, 2058), but שזב (RES 86 : 4);[3]

It is probable that all of these Shaphel forms are Assyrian loan-words,[4] but as they persisted in Aramaic, and appear in the

[1] Dussaud and Macler here read שאזב, but Clermont-Ganneau says the reading ' is confirmed by the examination of the photographic negative.

[2] Dalman here read שבזב (NPF 92 : 6), but Lidz. (ESE iii. p. 279) says the reading שיזב is certain.

[3] In CIS 186 : 4, some read שזב, but this inscription is very uncertain, and variously read.

[4] Cf. AF p. 69 f.

Targums, little significance can be attached to their use in Biblical Aramaic.

(19) In the Peal Perfect, 3rd pers. fem. sing., of verbs with weak third radical, the third radical is omitted wherever examples occur in our texts, save twice in Daniel, one of which may be a scribal error, and five or more times in the Papyri and Ostraka, constituting half of the occurrences of the form in this group. Examples are very few, and are found in the Zenjirli, Indian, Nabataean, and Palmyrene inscriptions, in addition to Biblical Aramaic and Egyptian Aramaic. Thus we find:

in Ezra, הוה (4 : 24, 5 : 5);

in Daniel, מחה (2 : 34. 35), עדה (3 : 27, 4 : 28), רבה (4 : 19), מטה (4 : 19), ענה (5 : 10), הוה (2 : 35, 7 : 19), but מלאה (2 : 35), מטית (4 : 21[1]);

in Zenjirli, הוה (NSI 62 : 2);

in the Papyri and Ostraka, מטאה (AP 41 : 2, APO 63, 1 *inn* : 3[2]), מטאה (AP 14 : 5), צבית (15 : 25. 29),[3] but מטת (AP 10 : 6), מטתבי (1 : 4), הוה (6 : 7, Aḥ : 43, Beh : 16);

in India, הוה (Tax : 8);

in Nabataean, בנה (CIS ii. 169 : 3, 239);

in Palmyrene, הוה (Tar 1 : 3).

(20) Daniel agrees with the Papyri and the Targums in terminating the Peal Perfect, 1st pers. sing., of verbs with weak third radical in ־ית, though the Papyri have also the form ־את, in the case of verbs originally ל״א. The ZKR inscription and the Assyrian political letter have examples in ־ית, while at Zenjirli we find one doubtful example of ־את occurring beside more certain examples of ־ית. Palmyrene omits the third radical altogether. In the Haphel, the Papyri twice omit the radical. Thus we find:

in Daniel, חזית (2 : 26, 4 : 2. 6. 15), צבית (7 : 19), הוית (4 : 1 *et al.*);

[1] Kautzsch (K[GBA] p. 79) says by a scribal error. The Ḳr corrects to מטת.

[2] APO and APE read מטית, but the facsimile clearly has מטאת.

[3] APO regards מחאה, of AP Aḥ : 83, as 3 f. s., while APE takes it as Imperat. with sf. Cowley, however, following Nöldeke, holds it to be a noun. APO further leaves open the question whether רפאה (AP Aḥ : 100) is Perf. or Ptcp. Cowley decides in favour of the latter.

in the ZKR inscription, בנית (b : 9. 10);

in Zenjirli, בנית (NSI 61 : 14, 63 : 20), חנאת (61 : 19[1]);

in Assyrian Aramaic, אתית (AUA i. : 7);

in Egyptian Aramaic, חזית (AP Aḥ : 14, NSI 73 A : 2), צבית (AP 18 : 2), חדית (41 : 2), קרית (7 : 10), ענית Aḥ : 14. 45), רבית (Aḥ : 25), ימאת (8 : 24), שנאת (15 : 23. 27), נשאית[2] (Aḥ : 111. 112), אתית (5 : 3, 15 : 3), הוית (13 : 4, 41 : 3. 4, Aḥ : 48), but העדת (AP 15 : 35, with which ct. חעדית Aḥ : 50), היתת (S–C Ma : 5);

in Palmyrene, נבת[3] (Vog 71 : 1).

(21) Biblical Aramaic alone forms the Peal Imperfect, 3rd pers. masc., sing. and plur., and 3rd pers. fem. plur., of הוה with preformative ל־. The Papyri, the Nabataean and Palmyrene inscriptions all use י־, as Biblical Aramaic does with all other verbs. Thus we find:

in Ezra להוא (4 : 12, 5 : 8, 6 : 9, 7 : 23. 26 *bis*), להון (6 : 10, 7 : 25);

in Daniel, להוא (2 : 20 *et al.*), להוה (4 : 22), להון (2 : 43, 6 : 2. 3. 27), להוין (5 : 17);

in the Papyri, יהוה (AP 8 : 17 and often), יהוי (32 : 2 *et al.*), יהוון (27 : 7, 71 : 27);

in Nabataean, יהוא (CIS ii. 200 : 3. 5, 219 : 6, NSI 90 : 4);

in Palmyrene, יהוא (NSI 145 : 4, Tar 1 : 10 *et al.*), יהא (Tar 2 c : 8), יהון (Vog 71 : 2, Tar 2 c : 24. 49), יהן (Tar 2 b : 7, 2 c : 19).

Wilson treats these cases as Jussives, and compares the Babylonian Talmud and Mandaean to show that this is a mark of Eastern Aramaic.[4] The ל is also not unexampled in the Jerusalem Targum.[5] In a Zenjirli inscription and in the Assyrian political letter we find several cases of ל either before י, or replacing it, with other verbs (e.g. ליתכה NSI 61 : 23, למנע 61 : 24, לכתשה 61 : 31, לכתשנה 61 : 31, לטחנו AUA i. : 8), but no case occurs elsewhere with the verb הוה, save a very doubtful case

[1] So NSE. But possibly from חנן (cf. NSI p. 168 and VOJ vii. p. 48).

[2] The third radical is here doubly represented.

[3] Perhaps an error for בנת. But Clermont-Ganneau would read צבת (*vide* RAO iii. p. 175).

[4] *Loc. cit.*, p. 269.

[5] *Vide* Dal[AG] p. 264.

from Cappadocia (לְהוּא ESE i, p. 323 A : 5). The examples that occur in the Zenjirli inscription would seem to dispose of Wilson's argument that this is a mark of Eastern Aramaic. Moreover, that argument does not face the peculiar fact that in Biblical Aramaic it is confined to certain forms of this one verb, which happens to be one very commonly used, and that these forms never occur without the ל, while in the Papyri, where also the verb is commonly found, it never has the ל, and wherever it stands in Nabataean or Palmyrene, it is without the ל. It is much more likely, therefore, that the explanation of these Biblical forms is to be sought, not in relation to general Eastern Aramaic usage, but in relation to the particular forms avoided. It has been commonly supposed that the Biblical Aramaic form לְהוּה or לְהוּא is used to avoid similarity with the Tetragrammaton.[1] No more probable solution of the problem has been proposed. Against this, it is certainly a difficulty that we find the ל also in the Plural forms, where there was little risk of confusion, but it may well have been extended to the plural by analogy with the singular, after it had become well established there.

(22) Biblical Aramaic alone writes the Present Participle of verbs ע״ו with א[2] for the second radical. Nabataean and the Papyri, in their few occurrences, have י or omit. The Targums frequently have אי. Thus we find:

in Ezra, דאנין (7 : 25);

in Daniel, קאם (2 : 31), קאמין (3 : 3), דארין (2 : 38, 3 : 31, 6 : 26), זאעין (5 : 19, 6 : 27), קאמיא (7 : 16);

in the Papyri, צימין (AP 30 : 15. 20), and קמן (Beh : 59);

in Nabataean, קים (NSI 79 : 3 *et al.*).

The careful examination of these points shows that in almost every case where Biblical Aramaic differs from the Targums, the Biblical usage can be found in Nabataean or Palmyrene. We may note, however, the following exceptions:

[1] Cf. Mein. *Dan.* p. 269, Bev. *Dan.* p. 35, Marti^{BA} p. 58, Marti^{D} p. 12, Str^{GBA} p. 35 k, GVG i. p. 565, Mont. *Dan.* p. 158 f., B-L p. 152 d.

[2] The Ḳr changes the א to י in every case, save קאם and קאמיא.

(i) The use of the prefix התּ in forming the Perfect of the reflexive stems.

(ii) The use of the prefix התּ and suffix ־ה in forming the Infinitive of the reflexive stem.

(iii) The retention sometimes of the ־הּ in the Haphel Imperfect and Participle.

(iv) The insertion of נ in the Peal Imperfect of ידע, though here the Targum of pseudo-Jonathan provides some parallels.

(v) The introduction sometimes of נ into the Peal Imperfect and the Haphel of עלל, though here again the Targum of pseudo-Jonathan provides parallels.

(vi) The use of ל in certain forms of the verb הוה.

Here, however, it should he noted that we have no record of the usage of the Nabataeans on four of these points, viz., (i), (ii), (iv) and (v). We are not, therefore in a position to affirm that it differed from that of Biblical Aramaic. Moreover, in one of the remaining two points, viz. (iii), Biblical Aramaic shows a usage which is intermediate between that of the Papyri, on the one hand, and that of the Nabataean and Palmyrene inscriptions, on the other hand, sometimes retaining ־הּ in agreement with the earlier writings, and sometimes dropping it in agreement with the later groups of inscriptions and the Targums. The Papyri would also seem to belong to the transitional period, since there are some examples in them without the ־הּ, but they are proportionally fewer than in Biblical Aramaic, which would seem to stand later in the development. In the remaining cases, viz. (vi), Biblical Aramaic stands without parallel in any other group, early or late, and it has been suggested above that there are reasons for believing that this has a purely religious origin, and has no connexion with the grammatical texture and usage of the language.

It should be further noted that of these six features, in which the usage of Biblical Aramaic is not supported by the Nabataean or Palmyrene inscriptions, or by normal Targumic usage, three reveal a usage which is different also from that of the Papyri, viz., (i), (iv) and (vi), while for one, viz. (ii), we have no record of the

usage of Egyptian Aramaic. In this particular, however, Daniel differs from the Targum of Onkelos but slightly. As for (iii), it has been stated immediately above that Biblical Aramaic shows a usage which is further on than that of the Papyri in the development towards the usage of the Nabataean and Palmyrene inscriptions. We are left with but one feature, viz. (v), but the fact that here, as also in (iv), the Targum of pseudo-Jonathan provides us with some parallels, robs the agreement with the Papyri of much weight.

Turning now to re-examine the above enumerated twenty-two points, we are struck by the number of differences from the Papyri. Apart from the four points on which the Papyri furnish us with no evidence, viz., (4), (8), (12) and (16), there are no less than twelve points on which the usage of the Papyri differs in whole or in part from that of the Biblical Aramaic, and in but one of these do any early inscriptions share with Biblical Aramaic its points of difference from the Papyri. These twelve points are:

(i) The use of תון־ for the termination of the Perfect, 2nd. pers. masc. plur.

(ii) The use of נא־ for the termination of the Perfect, 1st. pers. plur.

(iii) The exclusive [1] use of ין־ for the termination of the Imperfect, 3rd. pers. masc. plur.

(iv) The use of התּ־ in forming the Perfect of the reflexive stems.

(v) The more frequent use of א־ instead of הּ־, in forming the causative stem in Biblical Aramaic, but a single instance being certainly found in the Papyri, and that in one of the latest of the documents.

(vi) The more frequent dropping of the causative prefix הּ־ in forming the Haphel Imperfect and Participle.

(vii) The assimilation sometimes of the first radical of פ״ן verbs in the Imperfect, the Papyri providing but rare examples, and these from late documents.

[1] יאבדו in Jer 10: 11 is here ignored, and also יחיטו in Ezr 4: 12, which many editors hold to be corrupt. Its acceptance would not seriously modify the word 'exclusive'.

(viii) The insertion of נ in the Peal Imperfect of ידע.

(ix) The almost invariable omission of the third radical of verbs with weak third radical in the Peal Perfect, 3rd pers. fem. sing., in Biblical Aramaic, as against the more frequent retention in the Papyri.

(x) The almost invariable use of י to represent the third radical of verbs with weak third radical, before terminal inflexions, where it is not altogether elided, as against the use of א and י in the Papyri, the only example of א in Biblical Aramaic being מלאת in Dn 2 : 35.

(xi) The use of ל in certain forms of the verb הוה.

(xii) The writing of the present participle of verbs ע"ו with א.

It has already been said that one of these points, viz. (xi), is probably without significance, save a religious one, while (iv) is also without weight, since here Biblical Aramaic differs equally from the Papyri and from Palmyrene. Moreover, (viii) may be somewhat discounted, in view of the occurrence of מנדע in AP Aḥ : 53,[1] while (vii) cannot be stressed, in view of the agreement of the Zenjirli inscriptions with the Biblical usage which differs from that found, with rare exceptions, in the Papyri.

In several other cases, viz., (iii), (v), (vi), (ix) and (x), we find a fluctuating usage, either in the Papyri or in Biblical Aramaic, so that they have points of both agreement and disagreement. In (iii) the use of the Papyri fluctuates, the older ־ו, as in the Zenjirli and Nerab inscriptions, sometimes appearing, and sometimes the later ־ון, in agreement with the sole[2] usage of Biblical Aramaic. In (ix) again, the usage of the Papyri fluctuates, the third radical being already regularly dropped in the verb הוה, and twice in the verb מטא, but elsewhere retained, while Biblical

[1] The meaning of this word has been regarded as very doubtful, but G. R. Driver identifies it with Ass. *mindē* = *surely*. Cf. *JTS* xxv. (1923–4), p. 301. Cf., too, the Indefinite Pronoun, which occurs as מנדעם in Egyptian Aramaic, the Sardis inscription and Nabataean (e. g. NSI 75 : 2, AP 21 : 7 (EP), Sard : 6 (Lydia), NSI 94 : 5 (N)), while in Palmyrene we have מדעם (e. g. Tar 1 : 8. 11) and מדען (Tar 1 : 5, NSI 122 : 5). The former of these may stand twice in the Papyri (AP 49 : 3. 4).

[2] Cf. note on p. 95.

Aramaic uniformly drops it in harmony with later practice, save in two instances, one of which is probably but a scribal error. In (x) also, the usage of the Papyri fluctuates, sometime א appearing, and sometimes י, the Papyri generally distinguishing between verbs originally ל"א and verbs originally ל"ו and ל"י, while Biblical Aramaic, in accordance with later practice, has י almost without exception. In (v), on the other hand, it is Biblical Aramaic that has the two uses, agreeing commonly with the older practice of the Zenjirli, Nerab, and Babylonian inscriptions and the Papyri, which also survived until Nabataean times, however, and occasionally following the later practice of the Targums. In (vi) too, Biblical usage fluctuates, commonly following the older usage of the ZKR inscription and the Nerab, Arabian, and Assyrian inscriptions, but occasionally following the later usage of Nabataean, Sinaitic, Palmyrene, and the Targums. While there are here some cases in the Papyri of the later usage, they are relatively fewer, and the bulk of the examples align themselves with the older usage. In each of these five respects, therefore, we see that Biblical Aramaic occupies a position intermediate between that of the Papyri and the later Aramaic of the Nabataeans and Palmyrenes and the Targums. In each case it shows an advance on the use of the Papyri in the direction of that of the Targums.

We are left with (i), (ii) and (xii), therefore. In the first of these the Papyri have the older ־תם and also ־תן, which approximates to the form used in Biblical Aramaic. The latter here agrees precisely with the later Targumic form, however. In (ii), again, we find that Biblical Aramaic is in complete accord with the Targums, while in (xii) Targumic support can be claimed for both the usage of Biblical Aramaic and that of the Papyri.

The cumulative effect, therefore, of the study of the relations between Biblical Aramaic and the Papyri, on the one hand, and between Biblical Aramaic and the later Aramaic of the Nabataean and Palmyrene inscriptions and of the Targums, on the other hand, in so far as relates to the verbal forms employed, is the

decided impression that Biblical Aramaic is later than that of the Papyri, and stands somewhere between the dialect they contain and these later dialects in its stage of development. It may yet, perhaps, be possible for one to take the position, as Wilson does, that Daniel is older than the Papyri, but not, as Wilson claims, on the basis of this evidence. So far from finding here, as he maintains, a 'proof' of the early date of Daniel, we need rather to wait till he or another brings forward arguments of a serious and weighty character to set against this evidence.

XI

Turning our attention next to matters of Syntax, we observe few differences which are important for the grouping of the dialects. There are, however, a few points to which attention may be directed.

(1) We may note the use of periphrastic constructions[1] in Biblical Aramaic, the Papyri, and Palmyrene, principally to indicate an action either customary or continuous. The following varieties of construction are found:

(i) The Perfect of the verb *to be*, with a Participle, to denote a past action which was repeated, or an action or state which was continuous. In Biblical Aramaic and the Papyri the participle may stand either before or after the auxiliary, but in Palmyrene our only examples have the Participle following. Examples are found with both active and passive Participles. The following selection of instances will illustrate the usage:

(a) *Active Participle following.*

in Ezra, הות בטלא (4 : 24);

in Daniel, הוו זאעין ודחלין (5 : 19), הוו בעין (6 : 5), הוא ברך (6 : 11);

in the Papyri, הוו שלחן (AP 17 : 3), הוית מסבל (Aḥ : 48), הוה מסבל (Aḥ : 72);

in Palmyrene, הוא גבא (Tar 1 : 6), הו[ת] שקלא[2] (Tar 2c : 29).

[1] Cf. G. R. Driver's note in *JTS* xxv. (1923–4), p. 300.

[2] The construction here does not denote a repeated or continuous action, but

(b) *Active Participle preceding.*

in Daniel, חזה הוית (2 : 31. 34), חזה הוית (4 : 7 *et al.*);

in the Papyri, לבשן הוין (AP 30 : 15, 31 : 14), קמן הוו (Beh : 59).

(c) *Passive or reflexive Participle following.*

in Ezra, הוא בנה (5 : 11);

in Daniel, הוא מתנצח (6 : 4);

in the Papyri, הוה מתעבד (AP 32 : 11);

in Palmyrene, הות כנישא (Tar 1 : 3), הוו מחגבין (Tar 1 : 5), הוא מתכתב (*ibid.*).

(d) *Passive or reflexive Participle preceding.*

in Daniel, משתכל הוית (7 : 8);

in the Papyri, בנה הוה[1] (AP 30 : 25, 32 : 4 f.).

(ii) The Perfect of the verb *to be*, with an Imperfect, to express a past action which was customary. There is little difference of meaning between this and the preceding type of construction, and our only examples are found in one of the Papyri, viz. הת[א]ּ הות (AP 41 : 3), הוית אשלח (*ibid.*).

(iii) The Imperfect of the verb *to be*, with a Participle, to denote a future action which is to be repeated or continous. In Biblical Aramaic and Palmyrene some examples are found with the participle preceding, but in the Papyri the Participle follows in all the examples we have. Examples are found with both active and passive Participles in Biblical Aramaic and Palmyrene. Thus:

(a) *Active Participle following.*

in Ezra, להוא עבד (7 : 26), להון דאנין (7 : 25), להון מהקרבין (6 : 10);

in Daniel, להון יהבין (6 : 27), להון זאעין ודחלין (6 : 3), להון דבקין (2 : 43);

in the Papyri, אהוה משלם (AP 11 : 7), יהוה רבה (11 : 9);

is used because the case is treated as typical, a single action taking place in each case covered by the regulation.

[1] Ct. order in Ezr 5 : 11. G. R. Driver (*loc. cit.*) regards these as cases of Perfect following Perfect, with a Pluperfect meaning. It would seem better to read, with most, as Participles. The reference is not to the past completed act of building, but to the past continuous state of being a built edifice.

in Palmyrene, יהוא גבא (Tar 1 : 11), יהוא מזבן (Tar 2 a : 45), יהוא פרע (2 b : 29 f. 47), יהא גבא (2 c : 8), יהון יהבין (2 c : 24 f.), תהוה שקלא[1] (2 c : 28), יהוא יהב (2 c : 34).

(b) *Active Participle preceding.*

in Palmyrene, פרעא תהוא (Tar 2 b : 44).

(c) *Passive or reflexive Participle following.*

in Ezra, תהוא מתיהבא (6 : 8), להוא מתיהב (6 : 9), להוא מתעבד (7 : 26);

in Daniel, להוא נזק (6 : 3);

in Palmyrene, יהוא מבטל (Tar 1 : 10), יהוא מתג[ב]א (2 c : 11), יהוא מ[תאעל] (2 c : 12), יהן מתאעלין (2 c : 19 f.), תהוא מתזבנא (2 c : 32 f.), יהוא מתקבל (2 c : 36 f.), יהוא מזבן (2 c : 37).

(d) *Passive or reflexive Participle preceding.*

in Ezra, ידיע להוא[2] (4 : 12, 5 : 8);

in Daniel, מתערבין להון (2 : 43), ידיע להוא (3 : 18).

Examples of these constructions are relatively more frequent in Biblical Aramaic than in the Papyri, and still more frequent in the Palmyrene Tariff. Further, Daniel employs them more commonly than Ezra. They are found in the later Aramaic of the Targums,[3] and, much more frequently, in the Syriac dialect.

(2) The Genitive relation is frequently expressed, throughout our texts, by the Construct, particularly in the case of common nouns, like מלך, בני, and חיי. Alongside this, however, we find a number of cases where די (or זי) is employed to express the genitive relation. Sometimes the relative is preceded by the absolute, sometimes by the emphatic, and sometimes by a noun with pronominal suffix.

(a) *Absolute with Relative.* Examples of this construction are found in Biblical Aramaic and that of the Assyrian, Lydian, and Palmyrene inscriptions, and of the Papyri, e.g.:

in Ezra, נרבך די אע (6 : 4);

in Daniel, אצבען די ידי־אנש (5 : 5), גפין די נשר (7 : 4);

[1] See note immediately above on Tar 2 c : 29.

[2] The Imperfect has here Jussive force. Cf. זהירין הוו (Ezr. 4 : 22), where we have the Imperative.

[3] *E.g.*, Gen 40 : 13, Ex 1 : 16, 16 : 3.

in Assyrian Aramaic, שערן זי מנין זי מלך (CIS ii. 1 c, 4 c), אסרסלמח (AUA ii. 1, 2, 3);

in Lydian Aramaic, אחד זי מני[1] (Sard : 3 f.);

in the Papyri, בי זי לבנן (AP 3 : 18, 10 : 9), מלח זי מיא (6 : 11, 8 : 8), זכרן זי בגוהי (15 : 2), ארדכל זי מלכא (13 : 15), כמר זי חנ[ום] (32 : 1);

in Palmyrene, טעון די גמלא (Tar 2 b : 16).

(b) *Emphatic with Relative.* Examples are found in Biblical Aramaic, in the inscriptions of Asia Minor and Arabia, and of the Nabataeans and Palmyrenes, and in the Papyri, e.g.,

in Ezra, מאניא די בית אלהא (5 : 14), נביאיא די אלהא (5 : 2), דתא די מלכא (7 : 26), מלכא די בבל (5 : 13);

in Daniel, חזוא די ליליא (2 : 19), שליטא די מלכא (2 : 15), דתאא די אריותא (5 : 23), מאניא די ביתה (4 : 12. 20), גבא די בנא (6 : 20);

in Asia Minor (Abydos), סתריא זי כספא (NSI 67 : 1);

in Arabia, שימתא זי מלכא (NSI 69 : 18 f.);

in the Papyri, אגורא זי יהו (AP 25 : 6 *et al.*), כמריא זי חנוב (27 : 3 *et al.*), ביתא זי זכור (30 : 26 *et al.*), מדבחא זי יהו (38 : 1), כהניא זי יהו (42 : 5), חילא זי ויודת (Beh : 40);

in Nabataean, נפשא די אב. (NSI 78 : 1);

in Palmyrene, מיתויתא די אלהא (NSI 121 : 2), תגמא די קיניא (126 : 3), אסטרגא די קלניא (127 : 4), פלהדרותא די בונא (Tar 1 : 1), אפכלא די עזיזו (ESE i. p. 203 F : 2).

(c) *Suffixal form with Relative.* Examples of this form are found in Biblical Aramaic, the Papyri and inscriptions of Cilicia, Cappadocia, and the Nabataeans and Palmyrenes, e. g.,

in Ezra, עבדוהי די אלה (5 : 11);

in Daniel, קרציהון די יהודיא (3 : 8), ביומיהון די מלכיא (2 : 44), קרצוהי די דניאל (3 : 26), עבדוהי די אלהא (3 : 25), רוה די רביעיא (6 : 25), אלהה די דניאל (6 : 27);

in Cilicia, בר ברה זי וישנש (NSI 68 : 2 f.);

in Cappadocia, אנתתה זי ביל (ESE i. p. 67 t : 2);[2]

in the Papyri,[3] מאתה זי ביתאלתקם (AP 2 : 6. 10; ct. 2 : 8), ביתה

[1] If אחד is rightly taken, with Cowley, to be = אחווה.

[2] Ct. *ibid.* : 3, אנתת זי ביל, Construct before Relative—a solecism.

[3] Cf. also, on an ostrakon, אחוהא זי תמ. (ESE iii. p. 23 C : 4).

זי אסחור (15 : 30), אמהם זי עלימיא (28 : 13), אחוהי זי ענני (30 : 18 f., 31 : 18), אבוהי זי אסרחאדן (Aḥ : 47), פגרה זי אחיקר (Aḥ : 63), לערקה בטלה זי אהו[רמזד] (Beh : 5), והמום זי (Beh : 10);

in Nabataean, נפשה די חמרת (CIS ii. 162; but perhaps emphatic, = נפשא);

in Palmyrene, אחתה דאורת (ESE iii. p. 30 t : 5 f.), אביה דחירן (*ibid.* : 8 f.), שמה די רחמנא (*ibid.* p. 33 A : 1 f.).

It is to be observed that the occurrences of the suffixal form in the Papyri are mostly found in the later texts, though its occasional use is attested as early as 484 B. C. There would seem, however, to have been a tendency for it to become more common as time went on, and in the Targums it is very frequently employed. Further, we may note that the use of this form is more common in Daniel than in Ezra.

(3) The direct object is expressed in our texts in a variety of ways. In very many cases it is expressed without particle or preposition, both where it precedes the verb and where it follows, and whether the object is definite or indefinite. In some cases, however, we find the direct object indicated by the Particle אית, ות or ית, or by the Preposition ל.

(a) The Particle אית is found in the inscription of ZKR, and ות at Zenjirli, while ית is found once in Daniel, once in Palmyrene, and several times in Nabataean. As this point has already been discussed above,[1] and complete references have been furnished, it is unnecessary to discuss it further here.

(b) The Preposition ל is employed in Biblical Aramaic, the Zenjirli, Arabian, and Palmyrene inscriptions, and in the Papyri, e. g.,

in Ezra, מסעדין להון (5 : 2), הרגזו לאלה (5 : 12);

in Daniel, דניאל ברך לאלה (2 : 19), לקטלה לחכימי בבל (2 : 14), לדניאל סגד (2 : 25), הנעל (2 : 46), למוא לך מהודא אנה (2 : 23), לאתונא שיזב לעבדוהי[2] (3 : 28; cf. 6 : 28), and very often (3 : 19);

in Zenjirli, והתנאבו מלכיא לכל (NSI 63 : 14 f.);

in Arabia, לא יהנ[פק] צלמשזב ... ול[זר]עה ושמה (NSI 69 : 21 f.);

[1] P. 74.

[2] Cf. the construction in Nabataean, where the Preposition is not employed, e. g., RES 83 : 12 f., 86 : 4, 468 : 5, 1434 : 6, 2058.

in the Papyri, כחשת לאנתתי (AP 7 : 5 ; cf. 7 : 9), יהבת לכי לביתא (13 : 2. 5 ; ct. 13 : 6), שנאת לאסחור (15 : 23), מהחסן לה (16 : 2), קטלו (Aḥ : 136), אל תרגג לכביר (27 : 23), [אל ינ]גנון למנדעמתא למרדיא (Beh : 3. 5);

in Palmyrene, בל יברך לבני חלא (Vog 132).

It is again to be observed that while ל is used to express the direct object occasionally in early inscriptions and the earlier Papyri, it appears more frequently in the later Papyri, and very much more frequently in Daniel, where the occurrences are some two score in number. Further, the occurrences are much more numerous in Daniel than in Ezra. The Targums employ the construction, but infrequently.[1]

(4) The Preposition ל precedes the name of the King (or reign) in dates in Biblical Aramaic, Nabataean, and Sinaitic, but not in Babylonian, Lydian, or Egyptian Aramaic, save once in the last named. In Babylonian Aramaic, in addition to the form without Preposition, in agreement with that of the Papyri and of the Sardis inscription, we find a form with the Preposition ב. Thus we have, e.g.,

in Ezra, שנת . . . למלכות דריוש (4 : 24), בשנת . . . לכורש (5 : 13, 6 : 3);

in Daniel, בשנת . . . לבלאשצר (7 : 1);

in Babylonian Aramaic, שנת . . . דריהוש (AI 26 : 2), but שנת . . . בדריהוש (AI 22 : 3);

in Lydian Aramaic, שנת . . . ארתחשסש Sard : 1);

in Egyptian Aramaic, בשנת . . . חשיארש (NSI 71 : 3 ; cf. AP 2 : 1, 5 : 1), שנת . . . ארתחשסש (AP 7 : 1 *et al.*), שנת . . . דריוהוש (20 : 1 *et al.*), שנת . . . אמורטיס (35 : 1. 6), שנת . . . מלכא (RES 1817 : 2), but שנת . . . לדריוש (1 : 1);

in Nabataean, שנת . . . לחרתת (NSI 78 : 1 and often), שנת . . .

[1] Wilson (*loc. cit.*, p. 293) says 'Onkelos sometimes uses it, but preceded by a pronominal suffix after the verb'. It is true we sometimes find this form in Onkelos, as שבקיה ללבשיה (Gen 39 : 15), but we also find examples without the pronominal suffix, as אשבוק לכל אתרא (Gen 18 : 26), נשיק להון וגפיף להון (Gen 48 : 10), יפלחון לטעות עממיא (Dt 7 : 4).

לרבאל (101 : 8 f. *et al.*), שנת ... לקלדים (98 : 1), שנת ... למלכו (99 : 3 *et al.*), שנת ... להדרינם (RES 2053 : 2);

in Sinaitic, בשנת ... להפרכיה (NSI 107 : 2).

Here we observe that, with a single exception, the usage of the Papyri differs from that of Biblical Aramaic, and that the latter agrees with the later usage of the Nabataean inscriptions and the Targums.[1] Moreover, the usage in Babylon in the fifth century B.C. is in disagreement with that of Biblical Aramaic. It is curious, however, that the single occurrence of the later usage which is found in the Papyri occurs in what is probably the oldest text of the series.

(5) In the Aramaic of Lydia, Babylon, the Papyri, and the Nabataean inscriptions, the word מלכא, when in apposition with the name of the sovereign, uniformly follows the Proper name. In Ezra, too, the same order is regularly followed. In Daniel, however, while in many cases this order is observed, in several cases the order is reversed. Thus we find, e.g.,

in Ezra, ארתחששתא מלכא (4 : 8. 11. 23), דריוש מלכא (5 : 6 *et al.*), כורש מלכא (5 : 13 *et al.*):

in Daniel, נבוכדנצר מלכא (3 : 1 *et al.*), בלשאצר מלכא (5 : 1. 30), דריוש מלכא (6 : 7. 26), but מלכא נבוכדנצר (2 : 28. 46, 4 : 15, 5 : 11), מלכא בלשאצר (5 : 9), מלכא דריוש (6 : 10);

in Babylonian Aramaic, דריהוש מלכא (AI 22 : 3);

in Lydian Aramaic, ארתחשסש מלכא (Sard : 1);

in the Papyri, דריוש מלכא (AP 1 : 1), חשיארש מלכא (5 : 1 *et al.*), ארתחשסש מלכא (6 : 2 *et al.*), דריהוש מלכא (20 : 1 *et al.*), אמורטים מלכא (35 : 1. 6), שנחאריב מלכא (Aḥ : 15 *et al.*), אסרחאדן מלכא (Aḥ : 53 *et al.*);

in Nabataean, חרתת מלכא (NSI 81 : 8 *et al.*), מלכו מלכא (92 : 4 *et al.*), רבאל מלכא (97 col. iii. *et al.*).

Here it is to be observed that the usage of Daniel is in agreement with that of the Targums, where also both orders are found.

(6) Similarly, too, the Demonstrative דנה(ז), דא(ז), אלה or אלין,

[1] The Pentateuch gives Onkelos no opportunity of using the formula of the reign of kings, but cf. Gen 7 : 11, Nu 33 : 38.

normally follows the noun throughout our texts, save where used predicatively. In the Papyri and Biblical Aramaic we find a few cases, however, where the demonstrative precedes, and occasionally elsewhere. We select the following examples of this latter usage:

in Ezra, דנה בנינא (5 : 4), אלה מאניא (5 : 15);

in Daniel, דנה חלמא (4 : 15), אלן מלכותה (2 : 44), אלין חיותא (7 : 17);

in Lydian Aramaic, זנה סתונא (Sard : 2), זנה פרברה (*ibid.* : 3);

in the Papyri, זנה ביתא (AP 13 : 7), זנה ספרא (13 : 12), זנה יומא (31 : 19), זנה [אחי]קר (Aḥ : 60), זא באישתא (30 : 17), זא שנתא (71 : 14), אלה נכסיא (20 : 15);[1]

in Nabataean, דנה קברו (RES 1175 : 1).

In the later Aramaic of the Targums this usage is not unknown, but it occurs but rarely.

(7) Verbs expressing the idea of possibility, permission, wish, purpose, command, or beginning, are construed in Biblical Aramaic with ל and the Infinitive.[2] In Nabataean we normally find the Imperfect with a conjunction, but exceptionally ל and the Infinitive. In the Papyri we ordinarily find the Imperfect without conjunction, but occasionally we find ל and the Infinitive, or the Imperfect with conjunction. Examples are particularly common in the Book of Daniel. We select the following:

in Ezra, מתנדב למהך (5 : 3), שם טעם לבנא (5 : 2), שריו למבנא (7 : 13), ייטב למעבד (7 : 18), לא שליט למרמא (7 : 24);

in Daniel, יכלת למגלא (2 : 26), כהל להודעתני (2 : 10), יוכל להחויה (2 : 47), אמר להובדה (5 : 16), תוכל למפשר (5 : 8), לא כהלין למקרא (2 : 12), קרא להעלה (3 : 16), לא חשחין להתבותך (2 : 24), מני להובדא (5 : 7), צבית ליצבא (6 : 15), שם בל לשיזבותה (6 : 4), עשית להקמותה (7 : 19);

in Egyptian Aramaic, לא נכל נגרכי (Gir^{T} 2 : 8), לא אכל אשׁבקנה (AP 1 : 4), לא אכהל אמר (5 : 6), לא אכהל אכלאנך (5 : 11 f.), לא יכהלון (8 : 15), יהנפקון (Aḥ : 81), לא תכהל תהנצלנ[הי] (18 : 2 f.), צבית אהנצל (Aḥ : 149) and לא אכהל למרשה (28 : 7 f.), but צבה אנת זי תהוה

[1] Cf. too, זך עדנא AP Aḥ : 70.

[2] Note also the peculiar detached use of ל and the Infinitive in Dn 2 : 16. 18, 6 : 9.

לא אבהל למפלח (Aḥ : 17), אתעשת למכנה (30 : 23), שבקן למבניה (30 : 23, 31 : 23), אגרה ישתלח למבניה[1] (30 : 24 f.);

in Nabataean, לא יכל די יזבן או יאגר (CIS ii. 220 : 2), לא רשי די יזבן (NSI 89 : 4 f., *et al.*), לא רשי די יתקבר (CIS ii. 219 : 3 f.), לא רשין די יזבנון (NSI 90 : 3), but לא רשי למכתב (CIS ii. 210 : 3 f.).

Here we observe that the usage of Biblical Aramaic, which is exceedingly common in the book of Daniel, is in agreement with that of the Targums.

The careful study of these points reveals several differences between the usage of Biblical Aramaic, particularly of Daniel, and that of the Papyri. Thus we observe that the rare employment in the Papyri of the Perfect of the verb *to be*, followed by the Imperfect of another verb, is unparalleled in Biblical Aramaic; the use of the Papyri in the matter of dates is, with a single exception, different from that of Biblical Aramaic; the use in Daniel of מלכא before the name is unparalleled in the Papyri; and the construction with ל and the Infinitive after certain classes of verbs is regular in Biblical Aramaic but exceptional in the Papyri.

On the other hand, on none of these points is the usage of Biblical Aramaic without the support either of the Nabataean or Palmyrene inscriptions or of the Targums. It should, however, be noted that the use of ל to mark the direct object is much less common in the Targums than in Daniel, and is rare in the Palmyrene inscriptions.

Viewed as a whole, therefore, the evidence on Syntax would again indicate for Biblical Aramaic a place intermediate that of the Papyri and that of the later dialects. The evidence is not all of equal weight, however, and several of the points, taken by themselves, would give little clear guidance. On some points we observe a greater frequency in certain usages in the later Papyri than in the earlier Papyri, while Biblical Aramaic, and especially Daniel, is on such points in line with the later Papyri. This is a somewhat precarious line of argument here, and certainly

[1] Cf. also, on an ostrakon, ושלחת לה למפרש (ESE ii. p. 233 b : 7). But cf. reading in APO (64 2 *auss* : 7).

could not be pressed too closely. Nevertheless, it is extremely difficult to feel that Daniel's very common use of ל to mark the direct object, for instance, could be more than a century older than the oldest of the Papyri, since the usage is so rare in the Papyri until we come to the later texts, where it is still far less common than in Daniel. It is true that this usage is absent from Nabataean, rare in Palmyrene, and infrequent in the Targums. It would seem that it took its rise early in the West, as an occasional use, and gained considerable ground in Egypt in the latter part of the fifth century B.C. Later it spread eastwards to Palestine, where it enjoyed a temporary vogue, but afterwards largely lost its hold, though it continued to be a perfectly correct usage, albeit one infrequently adopted in the Targums. In the meanwhile it had spread farther East, and secured for itself a permanent place in Eastern Aramaic.

Much more embarrassing to the theory of the early origin of the book of Daniel, however, are the differences between Daniel and the Papyri in points (4) and (7). While in the writing of dates a single example in the earliest papyrus proves that the usage of Daniel was not unknown at the beginning of the fifth century B.C., the evidence of the many other examples in the Papyri and of the Sardis and Babylonian inscriptions shows clearly that it was not the regular usage in the fifth century in either East or West. So, too, with the constructions with ל and the Infinitive. While they are found occasionally in the later Papyri, they are at variance with the characteristic usage of the Papyri. It is impossible to suppose that the Book of Daniel here represents the usage of the sixth century B.C.—a usage which was regular and common in that age, but which was superseded a century later, only to recover itself in the age of the Targums and become common once more.

The theory that Biblical Aramaic is subsequent to that of the Papyri has to face no such embarrassment. It is definitely supported by some of the items of evidence, and not in conflict with any. More particularly would we claim the support of the three points which we have seen to embarrass the other view. The use

of ל to mark the accusative was gradually struggling to attain its place in the age of the Papyri; in Daniel it is one of the distinctive marks of the dialect. The use of ל with the name of the King in dates was a rare exception in the age of the Papyri; in Biblical Aramaic it is the only form we find, as also later in the Nabataean inscriptions. The use of ל and the Infinitive after certain verbs was only beginning to appear in the later Papyri; in Biblical Aramaic it has won an assured place, and especially in the hands of the author of Daniel it has become a fully developed and constantly employed idiomatic usage, distinguishing his style very definitely from that of the Papyri, and connecting it with the style of the Targums.

XII

When we turn to examine the Vocabulary of the different groups of inscriptions and of the Papyri, for the purposes of comparison with that of Biblical Aramaic—leaving aside for the present the foreign elements contained—we are surprised at the fewness of the differences evidenced. We notice that there are very many words which are found only in the Papyri and in Biblical Aramaic, and we are apt to be very much impressed with this fact at first, until we observe that in the great majority of cases these words are found also in the later Aramaic of the Targums. Boutflower has taken one of the Papyri and analysed its vocabulary,[1] showing how large is the proportion of words that are met with in Biblical Aramaic. This, however, is altogether insufficient to establish the close connexion between Biblical Aramaic and the Papyri, for which he argues, since he has failed to make the comparison with the later dialect of the Targums. He supposes that even the English reader will see from the resemblances he has set forth that the Aramaic of Daniel is far more likely to date from 535 B. C. than from 165 B. C. It may occur to some of his English readers to ask how they could possibly make such a comparison in the absence of any information as to the later usage. That information is supplied

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 235 f.

by G. R. Driver,[1] and is rather unfortunate for Boutflower's argument, for almost every word or usage to which Boutflower appeals in order to establish the connexion between Biblical Aramaic and the Papyri is found also in the Targums and the Talmud, and is therefore utterly useless as a criterion. We must therefore beware of any hasty judgement that the dialects of Biblical Aramaic and the Papyri are particularly closely linked in the matter of Vocabulary, since the link is, in general, equally close with the Targums.

A careful study of the Vocabulary of Biblical Aramaic, the Inscriptions and the Papyri, does, however, reveal a few things that claim remark. If we leave out of account all words which are found commonly throughout all our texts, and also all Biblical Aramaic words which are found both in the Papyri or other early sources and in the Targums, we still have to examine a number of cases which may seem to throw some light on the lexical affinities of Biblical Aramaic. Reference has been made above to a few cases in which Biblical Aramaic agrees, or nearly agrees, with the Papyri, and disagrees with the Targums, e. g., איתי, אדין, על דברת די and אל, and some in which Biblical Aramaic agrees with the Targums and disagrees with the Papyri, e. g., אע and ארעא, as against עק and ארקא, and these do not call for further remark here. Moreover, there are some foreign words which are not found in the Targums, and which Biblical Aramaic has in common with the Papyri, e. g., נשתון, דת, בלו, אשרנא, אזדא, and תפתיא, or with some other isolated inscription or group, e. g., אספרנא, הלך, and פחה. The whole question of foreign elements will be discussed below, however, and these words will not, therefore, be dealt with here.

The remaining words which claim our attention may be divided into four groups: (A) Words where some slight difference of pronunciation or orthography is involved; (B) Words where some difference of meaning is involved; (C) Alternative words, fulfilling the same function; and (D) A few further miscellaneous words, which are not found, or but rarely found, in the Targums.

[1] *JBL loc. cit.*, p. 111 f.

(A) Turning our attention first to the cases where we find slight differences of pronunciation or orthography, apart from the groups of words dealt with above in the section on Consonantal changes, or elsewhere in the previous sections, we may note the following:

(1) אנפין stands in Daniel, an Arabian inscription and the Papyri, as against אפין in Palmyrene. The latter is the form found in Onkelos and in Jonathan, but the former is found in pseudo-Jonathan. In our texts we find:

in Daniel, אנפוהי (2 : 46, 3 : 19);

in Arabia, אנפי (NSI 69 : 14);

in the Papyri, אנפי (AP 15 : 19 *et al.*), אנפין (Aḥ : 134), אנפוהי (Aḥ : 133 *et al.*), אנפין (37 : 8. 9);

in Palmyrene, אפי (Tar 2 c : 3. 6. 36).

(2) ענז stands in the Papyri, as against עז in Ezra and Palmyrene. The latter is the form found in the Targums. Thus we have:

in Ezra, עזין (6 : 17);

in Egyptian Aramaic, ענזא (AP Aḥ : 118 *bis.* 119), ענז (33 : 10, ESE iii. p. 23 C : 5);

in Palmyrene, עז (Tar 2a : 23. 25. 28. 30).

(3) צנפר stands in the Papyri, as against צפר in Daniel. The Targums agree with Daniel. Here we find:

in Daniel, צפרין (4 : 30), צפרי (4 : 9. 18), צפריא (4 : 11);

in the Papyri, צנפר (AP Aḥ : 98), צנפריא (Aḥ : 91. 199).

In these three cases it will be seen that Biblical Aramaic stands between the Papyri and the Targums, in agreement with its general position on the matter of inserted or assimilated Nun. In each of these three cases, the Papyri differ from the later usage of the Targums, while in one case Biblical Aramaic agrees with the Papyri, and in two cases with the Targums.

(4) ראש stands in Biblical Aramaic and the Papyri, as against רש in Palmyrene, while the Targums, in approximate agreement with the latter, have ריש. It is of interest, however, to note that רש already appears in the Papyri, in a document dated 456 B. C.—

certainly before Ezra, therefore. How long ראש maintained its place beside רש it is impossible to say. We find:

in Ezra, ראשיהם (5 : 10);

in Daniel, ראש (7 : 1), ראשה (2 : 38), ראשי (4 : 2. 7. 10, 7 : 15), ראשך (2 : 28), ראשה (2 : 32, 7 : 1. 9), ראשה (7 : 20), ראשהון (3 : 27), ראשין (7 : 6);

in the Papyri, ראש (AP 6 : 1, 11 : 5), ראשה (15 : 23), ראשהו[ם] (Beh : 38), ראשי (82 : 5), but רשא (10 : 6 *bis*);

in Palmyrene, רש (NSI 125 : 2), רשא (Tar 2a : 41), רשהון (NSI 132 : 3, RES 452 : 4), רשתא (ESE i. p. 204 d : 3).

(5) The verb באש is found in Daniel and in the Nerab inscriptions, and the adjective באיש in Ezra and Egyptian Aramaic, while in the Targums the verb באש is found, but the adjective is ביש, as in Palmyrene and in Cilicia. That the א maintained itself in this word in verbal forms in the Targums confirms our hesitation to suggest the limit of the survival of א in the adjectival form, or in the word ראש. In our literature we find:

in Ezra, באישתא (4 : 12);

in Daniel, באש (6 : 15);

in Nerab, יהבאשו (NSI 65 : 9);

in Egyptian Aramaic, באיש (NSI 75 : 2, AP 30 : 17, 31 : 16), באישה (38 : 6), באישתא (30 : 17);

in Cilicia, ביש (*JAOS* xxxv. p. 372 t : 3);

in Palmyrene, בישת (RES 1621 : 3).

(6) מאמר stands in Daniel and Ezra, while אמרת is found at Zenjirli and אמרא in the Papyri. Here again we may note that Biblical Aramaic is not far removed from the Targumic מימרא. In our texts we find:

in Ezra, מאמר (6 : 9);

in Daniel, מאמר (4 : 14);

in Zenjirli, אמרת (NSI 61 : 29), אמרתה (61 : 26. 32);

in the Papyri, אמריך (AP Ah : 102).

(7) מרא is found in Daniel, in the Zenjirli, Nabataean and Palmyrene inscriptions, in the Assyrian political letter and the inscription from India, and in the Papyri, while מר is also found in Palmyrene, and in a few exceptional cases in Nabataean.

Possibly also the latter stands a few times in the Papyri, and perhaps once at Senq-qaleh. The latter is the form of the Targums. Thus we find :

in Daniel, מרא (2 : 47, 5 : 23), מראי (4 : 16. 21) ;

in Zenjirli, מרא (NSI 63 : 3), מראה (62 : 11. 12. 13. 15. 16. 17 *bis*), מראי (62 : 19[1], 63 : 5. 6. 9, NSE Plate xxiv. 2) ;

in Assyrian Aramaic, מראי (AUA i. : 7. 8. 17) ;

in India, מראן (Tax : 9. 12) ;

in Egyptian Aramaic, מרא (AP 30 : 15, 47 : 2), מראי (Gir^{T} 3 : 4. 5, AP 16 : 8, 37 : 17, 38 : 2[1], 39 : 2, 54 : 10, 67 No. 7, 68 No. 9[1], 70 : 1. 2, 77 : 1, Aḥ : 73), מראך (Aḥ : 192, ESE iii. p. 22 Ba : 2), מראה (AP 71 : 7 *bis*, Aḥ : 198. 199), מראן (17 : 1. 5, 27 : 2. 10. 19. 21, 30 : 1. 2. 18. 23, 31 : 17[2], 33 : 7. 12. 13, 34 : 6[1]), מראי (37 : 1, 38 : 1. 12), מראתי (39 : 1. 2. 5[1]) ;

in Nabataean, מרא (CIS ii. 235 A : 2, B : 1, 323 : 4, RES 1111 : A, ESE iii. p. 88 E), מראנא (NSI 81 : 8, 82 : 4, 85 : 10, 86 : 7, 88 : 6, 89 : 9, 90 : 8, 94 : 3, 101 : 7, CIS ii. 185 : 7, 211 : 4. 6, 224 : 13, 337 : 3, RES 1103 : 9, 1108 : 8, 2054 : 2) ;

in Palmyrene, מרא (NSI 134 : 1, NSE Plate xl. 1 : 1, ESE ii. p. 296 Zb : 1, 298 Aa : 1), but מר (NSI 145 : 2, ESE iii. p. 140 Ra : 4), מרוהי (Vog 103 : 6), מרן (NSI 126 : 2, 128 : 3), מרהון (130 : 4), מרת (ESE ii. p. 301 Fa : 3), מרתהון (NSI 131 : 4).

The occurrences of מר, outside the Palmyrene inscriptions, are :

in Senq-qaleh. ? מרי (CIS ii. 111 : 2 f.) ;

in Egyptian Aramaic, מרי (S-C Ma : 2, where the reading is very doubtful), מרן (S-C P : 2), מריהם (AP 34 : 6, which Sachau regards as a scribal error for מראיהם), מריא (80 : 9, which Cowley regards as a scribal error for מראי) ;

in Nabataean, מר (RES 1111 : B, 1284 : 5), מרי (1175 : 7, where, however, Lidzbarski finds but a scribal error for מרא (sing.),[3] J-S 257), מרנא (RES 2117).

On this point Wilson has a note which is unusually interesting.[4] He gives what would appear to be a complete statement of the

[1] In these few cases the suffix has disappeared, but מרא stands plainly.

[2] Almost certainly we should add 31 : 22.

[3] *Vide* ESE iii. p. 86.

[4] *Loc. cit.*, p. 273 f.

evidence for the alternative ways of writing this word, though on examination it proves to be less complete than one would suppose. His list of five occurrences of מרא in the Zenjirli inscriptions should be extended to thirteen. His list of occurrences of מרא in Egyptian Aramaic should be corrected[1] by the addition of four[2] occurrences in the Strassburg Papyrus, and by the addition of a few occurrences published since his Essay was written. Moreover, according to the latest reading, which Cowley says is certain, we must now add AP 77 : 1 = CIS ii. 152 : 1, and if Cowley is right in finding in AP 80 : 9 but a scribal error for מראי, this too should be added. On the other hand, we must now remove from Wilson's list APO 50 a. 2 = AP Aḥ : 209, where Cowley says the reading חמרא is fairly certain. It is when we come to Wilson's list of but four occurrences of מרא in Nabataean, however, that his statement is more seriously inadequate.[3] S. R. Driver has supplied a list of twenty occurrences in Nabataean,[4] and to these we should add NSI 90 : 8, which he omitted, and RES 2054 : 2, which has been more recently published. Perhaps, too, we should add RES 1175 : 7, if Lidzbarski rightly sees in מרי only bad writing for מרא. Driver further supplements Wilson's two Palmyrene references by two more. We therefore find that the number of occurrences of the form מרא within our texts is as follows: in Daniel, four; in the Zenjirli inscriptions, thirteen; in Egyptian Aramaic, including the tomb inscriptions, at least forty-two; in the Assyrian political letter, three; in the Taxila inscription, two; in Nabataean, at least twenty-two; in Palmyrene, four.

[1] Some slight misprints should also be corrected. On p. 274, line 2, for '49. 2 and CIS 145 AF', read '49 c. 3 and CIS 145 A. 7 *bis*', and in line 3, for '4. 5. 7, 12, 12', read '4. 5. 7, 12, 13'.

[2] The earlier editions of this Papyrus give five occurrences, but Cowley, following Sachau and Ungnad, now reads (AP 27 : 1) מנטרתן for מן מראן, which appeared in RES, ESE and S-C.

[3] Baumgartner (*ZAW*, *loc. cit.*, p. 104) is here inaccurate, stating that מרא is found in Nabataean but ten times, though he includes מראת of Litt 85 : 1, which we have omitted, since it is a Proper Name. He also says that in the Zenjirli inscriptions מרא stands but seven times, and in Palmyrene but three times, while he omits altogether the occurrences in the Assyrian letter, whose evidence he elsewhere includes.

[4] LOT p. xxxiv.

On the other hand, to the five occurrences of מר in Palmyrene, quoted by Wilson, we need to add NSI 145 : 2, where, however, מראגרא may be a Proper Name, and ESE iii. p. 140 Ra : 4, p. 301 Fa : 3, which have been more recently published. The four or five examples of מר in Nabataean, quoted above, which have been published since Wilson wrote, should also be added to his list. Of the three occurrences of מר he quotes from Egyptian Aramaic, two are accompanied by a query, and all are doubtful. The reading of מרי is extremely doubtful, while מריהם may be but a scribal error. Moreover, מרן is queried by Lidzbarski in the index to the second volume of his *Ephemeris*. The further case, which de Vogüé read מרנא, but which Cowley reads מריא, is probably also a scribal error. A further doubtful occurrence of מר should be added to Wilson's list, viz., מרי in the Senq-qaleh inscription. In our texts, therefore, we find מר as follows : in Palmyrene, eight times ; in Nabataean, perhaps five times ; in the Papyri, possibly four times, but all doubtful ; in Senq-qaleh, once, and that doubtful.

Even though the evidence quoted by Wilson had been complete, however, it would not have supported his conclusion. He says 'From the above examples it will be seen that while a late writer of Aramaic might have written the word as Daniel does, the almost universal usage is against it. The Nabataeans and Palmyrenes in the central desert still employed it, but to the East, North, and West of them it was dropped by all. Among the older writings, however, it was almost as universally employed, but one certain example of its omission being known'. That one example of its omission, itself not very certain, is the only one dating from before the Christian era to which Wilson feels able to refer, and surely he does not suppose that the view he is controverting regards the book of Daniel as post-Christian. He has produced not a shred of evidence to support his statement that 'while a late writer of Aramaic might have written the word as Daniel does, the almost universal usage is against it', and the only evidence we have shows that up to, and beyond, the latest date suggested for the composition of the book of Daniel, the almost universal usage is in agreement with that of Daniel, no sure exceptions being

known. A usage which is thus practically, if not quite, invariable in all dialects up to the beginning of the Christian era, and which is thus copiously attested in Nabataean and even in Palmyrene inscriptions, can scarcely be held to imply the early date of Daniel, and certainly cannot provide the slightest embarrassment to the theory of the second century origin of that book.

(8) לבב is found in Daniel and in Egyptian Aramaic, and לב once in Daniel, and perhaps once in Egyptian Aramaic. It should be noted, however, that the reading in the latter case is very doubtful, and Cowley says that the ב is more like ד. In the Targums the normal form is לב, but sometimes, though usually in the plural, we still find לבב. In our texts we find:

in Daniel, לבב (4 : 13, 7 : 4), לבבך (2 : 30, 5 : 22), לבבה (4 : 13, 5 : 20. 21), but לבי (7 : 28);

in the Papyri, לבב (AP Aḥ : 65 *et al.*), לבבא (Aḥ : 104. 137), לבבי (14 : 5 *et al.*), לבבך (Aḥ : 82 *et al.*) לבבה (Aḥ : 109. 159), לבבן (2 : 9 *et al.*), לבבהם (Aḥ : 162), but לבה ? (71 : 6).

In ESE i. p. 67 t : 8 f., Lidzbarski suggests the possibility that we should read לבי, and so find an example of the shorter form in Cappadocian Aramaic.

(9) פלגה (= *division*) is found in Ezra, as against פלגן in the Papyri. The Targumic form is here different from both, but nearer to that found in Ezra, viz. פילונא. We find:

in Ezra, פלגתהון (6 : 18);

in the Papyri, פלגן (AP 28 : 17), פלגנן (28 : 14).

(10) אחרי, feminine of אחרן, is found in Daniel (2 : 39 *bis*, 7 : 5. 6. 8. 20), while אחרה is found in the Papyri (AP 15 : 32, 64 No. 20, 79 : ?. 4). A plural form אחרניתא appears in Palmyrene (Tar 2c : 18). The Targums have אוחרי and אוחרנתא. Daniel is, therefore, in closer agreement with the Targums than are the Papyri, while the Palmyrene form is almost identical with the plural of the second Targumic form.[1]

[1] On the masculine form there is no need to comment here, since the form found in Daniel is also found in the Papyri and in the Nabataean and Palmyrene inscriptions, while the form אחרה stands only in Nerab. (See note on this rather difficult form in NSI p. 189.)

It will be seen that in this group of words Biblical Aramaic sometimes agrees with the Papyri against the Targums, and sometimes with the Targums against the Papyri, while in some cases it differs from both, but stands nearer to Targumic usage than do the Papyri. There is not one of these cases where the Papyri and the Targums are in agreement against Biblical Aramaic. In other words, we have not here a single indication that Biblical Aramaic may be older than the Papyri, but on the contrary we have several indications that it is younger. From this group of words, therefore, the only conclusion we could draw is that Biblical Aramaic stands somewhere between the Papyri and the Targums.

(B) Passing to the second group of words, where only a difference of meaning is involved, we may note the following :

(1) בירתא is found in Ezra (6 : 2) and the Papyri (AP 6 : 3 and often) with the meaning *fortress*, while in Nabataean (CIS ii. 164 : 3, ESE ii. p. 257, lines 10. 11) it has the meaning *temple*.[1] Here we have a loan-word from Ass. *bîrtu* = *fortress*. The meaning *temple* is doubtless a later development, but it should be noted that the word appears in late Biblical Hebrew with both meanings. Further, though it is not found in the Targum of Onkelos, it appears in the Talmud, where it has both meanings. The earlier meaning would therefore appear to have persisted beside the later.

(2) צבו has the meaning *thing* in Daniel (6 : 18), while in the Targums it means *purpose*. Lidzbarski finds the meaning *wish* in an inscription from Cappadocia (ESE i. p. 325 t : 4), while the meaning *thing* is found several times in Palmyrene[2] (NSI 132 : 4, RES 452 : 4, ESE ii. p. 280 H : 5, Tar 1 : 6). Here we observe that the Ass. *ṣibûtu* = *wish*, which connects with the meaning in Cappadocian Aramaic, and from which the Targumic meaning was a simple development. Though the use of Biblical Aramaic is different from the Targumic usage, however, it is supported by Palmyrene, and is therefore attested for a time long subsequent to the latest date suggested for the origin of Daniel.

[1] So CIS, NSE, ESE, BDB. SAC, however, tables as *fortress, castle*.

[2] Once written מבו, in error (NSI 110 : 4).

(3) טעם in Daniel (3 : 10 *et al.*), Ezra (4 : 8 and often) and the Papyri (AP 26 : 22 *et al.*) has the meaning *command*, which is not found in the Targums, while in Nabataean (NSI 97 col. ii. : 2, J-S ii. 255) it has the meaning *adoption*. Here we notice that the Syriac ܠܘܩܚܐ = *grafting*, gives the clue to the Nabataean, while Ass. *ṭêmu* = *sense*, *command*, is in line with the above mentioned meaning of Biblical Aramaic and the Papyri. Apparently this word, in addition to its original meaning of *taste*, which is also found in Daniel and in the Targum, took on a great variety of derived, or extended, meanings in Semitic speech. We find in Biblical Aramaic the further meanings of *judgement*, in Daniel, and *report*, in both Daniel and Ezra, while the original meaning, *taste*, appears in a verbal form in the Assyrian political letter (AUA i. : 8) and in טעמתא = *victuals* in Palmyrene (Tar 2c : 10). It should be added that the meaning *taste* is found in Biblical Hebrew, and also, in late Hebrew, the meaning *command*. Once more we find, therefore, that the distinction of meaning gives us no help whatever in our task. We can no more find in the common use of the word with the meaning *command* any suggestion of close affinity between Biblical Aramaic and the Papyri, than we can of divergence between the dialects in those Biblical Aramaic uses which are not found in the Papyri.

This small group of words, therefore, fails to give us any clue for distinguishing between the Aramaic dialects under review, and its evidence may be pronounced entirely neutral.

(C) Of alternative words, used to express the same idea, the following are noteworthy :

(1) שים is used in Biblical Aramaic (Ezr 4 : 19 *et al.*, Dn 2 : 5 *et al.*), the inscriptions of ZKR (a : 1. 9, b : 6. 13), Zenjirli (NSI 61 : 29, 62 : 1. 10. 20), Nerab (NSI 65 : 3. 6. 7) and Arabia (NSI 69 : 4), and in the Papyri (AP 26 : 22 *et al.*), for *to set*, *to make*, while in the Targums שוי is normally used in the Pael.

Here it is to be noted (*a*) that we have no record of what word the Nabataeans and Palmyrenes used for this idea, so that we have no means of knowing when שים fell out of use ; (*b*) that the use of שים or סים is still found occasionally in the Targums ;

and (*c*) that the use of שוי in this sense appears in Cappadocia in the second century B.C. (ESE i. p. 67 t : 7) and in Daniel (3 : 29).

In Biblical Hebrew both roots are used, but שים heavily preponderates. In the Targums שוי heavily preponderates, and שים almost disappears. We are unable to assume either that שוי did not exist in this sense alongside שים in the early Aramaic dialects or that שים did not maintain its place beside שוי until comparatively late. In the absence of any evidence from Nabataean or Palmyrene, we have no means of knowing when the balance of use moved over from the one to the other. It is interesting to note, however, that the earliest appearance of שוי in Aramaic that has come down to us, outside the Biblical sources, occurs in an inscription that dates, most probably, from the second century B.C.

Wilson, however, attaches singular importance to this pair of words, and is content to leave all other matters of Vocabulary undiscussed, with the exception of loan-words and these words and their alternatives.[1] We have responded to his request to peruse his paragraphs twice, and even more, with a growing surprise at their irrelevance and futility. We must follow him into digression in order to show how misleading are his statements and how unjustified his belief in the impressiveness of the evidence he has gathered.

He claims that the Nabataeans and the Palmyrenes 'agree with Onkelos in not using שים'. In the absence of any knowledge whatever as to what the Nabataeans and Palmyrenes used, this is most unwarranted and misleading. It would be equally accurate—and equally unjustified—to say they disagree with Onkelos in not using שוי. In the complete absence of *both* words from our Nabataean and Palmyrene sources, no argument can be based on the absence of *one only*.

Again, Wilson says that 'in Onkelos it (i. e., שוא) always means *to set*, *to put*, *to make*, but in Daniel it means *to be*, or *make*, *like*'. The Oxford Hebrew Lexicon, however, distinguishes[2] between the roots שוה = *become like*, and שוה, which in the Pael = *set*, *make*,

[1] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 294–6.

[2] So also G-B.

and finds the latter in Dn 3 : 29. By the comparison of Dn 2 : 5 and 3 : 29, it appears that שוה Hithpa. = שים Hithpe. As for the former root, שוה = *become like*, there is nothing singular in Daniel's use of it, for though not found in Onkelos, it is found in Biblical Hebrew, in the Targums of Jonathan and pseudo-Jonathan, and in Syriac.

Further, apart from the normal Targumic שוי, Wilson quotes eight words which Onkelos occasionally uses to translate שים or שית, and declares that Daniel never uses these, with one exception, for the meaning *put*. This may be perfectly true, but it is utterly beside the point. Wilson could hardly claim that the fundamental meaning of any of these eight verbs, in Targumic Aramaic, is *put*. Onkelos uses them, either by an extension of their fundamental meaning, or to give a fuller flavour to the rendering than שוי would provide. That Daniel does not give to these verbs this particular extension proves nothing. Of these eight verbs Daniel uses six. What we need to ask is whether Daniel's use of these six words agrees with the *normal* use of them in Targumic Aramaic, not whether a particular use can be paralleled from its pages. And when we examine these words, we find that no difference whatever can be established between Daniel's use of them, and the normal and well-attested Targumic use. This will appear very clearly from the following paragraphs.

(i) ערב in Daniel means *mix*. This is the fundamental meaning of the word in the Targums. In the one case where Onkelos uses it to render שית, viz., Gen 30: 40, it is clear that it is intended to be more expressive than the colourless שית of the Hebrew, and it can be rendered *mix* without the slightest violence to the sense. We may further note that Onkelos also uses ערב in Ex 30 : 35, to translate ממלח = *salted*. It is no more reasonable to adduce ערב as meaning *put* in Onkelos than it would be to claim that it meant *season with salt*, nor more justifiable to suggest that ערב and שוי were synonymous in Onkelos, since both were used to translate שית, than it would be to suggest that שית and מלח were synonymous in Hebrew, since both are rendered in Onkelos by ערב.

(ii) יהב in Daniel means *give*. This is its fundamental meaning in Semitic speech, and is also its common meaning in the Targums. Onkelos thus uses it to translate נתן. That he also once used it in the sense *put*, while Daniel does not, would be entirely without significance. We find this verb with this extended meaning in Biblical Aramaic in Ezr 5 : 16, in Biblical Hebrew in 2 Sam 11 : 15, and in Nabataean in CIS ii. 158 : 6. When we turn, however, to the particular case where Onkelos uses this verb to translate שית, viz., Gen 4 : 25, we find that the meaning *give* provides a far better sense than the meaning *put*, and to argue on the basis of this text that the use of יהב in Daniel is different from that in Onkelos can only be pronounced quite unjustified.

(iii) מנה is found in Daniel in the Peal, meaning *number*, and in both Daniel and Ezra in the Peal, meaning *appoint*. This is in exact accord with its use in the Targums, the Peal being used in the sense *number*, *reckon*, e. g. in Gen 15 : 5, where it renders ספר, and in Num 1 : 44, where it renders פקד, while in the Pael in the Targum the verb means *appoint*, e. g. in Gen 41 : 33, the one occasion where it renders שית, and Gen 41 : 34, where it renders הפקיד. An examination of the thirteen cases where מני is used in Onkelos to render שית or שים shows that in every case the rendering *appoint* is fully appropriate, and in not a single case do we need to suppose that Onkelos used מני with a different meaning from that found in Daniel.[1]

(iv) גזר in Daniel means *cut*, with the extended meaning *determine*. This again is in accord with the usage of the Targums. Thus Onkelos uses it in Ex 12 : 44 to render מול = *circumcise*, and in New Hebrew גזר became the common word for *circumcise*. It is also frequently used to render כרת in the expression כרת בריה, while the meaning *decide*, *ordain*, and for the noun גזירא *decree*, *decision* (rendering, e. g., Hebrew חק in Gen 47 : 26), is well attested

[1] These thirteen instances are : (*a*) rendering שית, Gen 41 : 33; (*b*) rendering שים, Ge^{p} 40 : 15, 47 : 6, Ex 1 : 11, 5 : 8. 14, 18 : 21, Num 4 : 19, Dt 1 : 13, 17 : 14. 15 *ter*. (Brederek, in *Konkordanz zum Targ. Onkelos*, adds Dt 1 : 15, where, howev^{er}, מני renders נתן and not שים.)

in the Targums, and very frequent in New Hebrew. It is thus in no way surprising that it should be found rendering שים once in the Pentateuch, for שים does not have the simple meaning *put, set*, in all of the 153 occurrences[1] of the root in the Pentateuch, as Wilson seems to suppose, but also a variety of extended meanings, including *ordain, decree, appoint, make* (*a covenant*), as can be seen by a glance at the Oxford Hebrew Lexicon. When we turn to the one occasion on which Onkelos uses גזר to render שים, viz., Ex 15 : 25, we find that it clearly has the meaning *determine, ordain*, and once again we recognize that no difference whatever can be established between Daniel and Onkelos in the meaning attached to this verb.

(v) עבד in Daniel and Ezra means *make, do*, and in the Hithpeel, *be made into, be done*. This, as Wilson here admits, is in full accord with the usage of the Targums. It may be noted that in Dn 2 : 5 עבד Hithpe. is parallel to שים Hithpe., and in 3 : 29 the same form is parallel to שוה Hithpa. It is not clear, therefore, why Wilson should admit the accord with Targumic usage here, but deny it in the case of שוה. It should be added that in the one case where Onkelos uses עבד to render שים, viz., Num 24 : 23, the meaning of the Hebrew is obscure.

(vi) שרא in Daniel means *loosen, abide*. This is once more in perfect accord with the usage of the Targums. Thus, it is used in Onkelos in Ex 3 : 5, rendering נשל, and in Gen 24 : 32, rendering פתח, while the meaning *abide* is found in Num 24 : 2, rendering שכן, in Ex 18 : 5, rendering חנה, and in Ex 10 : 14, rendering נוח. The Pael in the Targums means *begin*, e. g., in Dt 16 : 9, rendering חלל Hiph., exactly as in Ezr 5 : 2. The Aphel in the Targums develops the meaning *put, place*, from the meaning *cause to abide*, exactly like the Hebrew נוח Hiph., which it is used to translate, e. g., in Gen 2 : 15. It is used in Onkelos to render שים in Gen 2 : 8, Dt 12 : 5. 21, 14 : 24, and in each of these cases it may be rendered *cause to abide* without violence to the sense,

[1] Wilson says שים occurs in the Hebrew Pentateuch 151 times, but in addition to 152 occurrences recorded in Fürst, there is וַיָּשֶׂם in Gen 28 : 18, which Fürst omits.

while in Dt 12 the meaning is clearly the same as in verse 11, where שכן is used in the Hebrew.

We thus see that in none of these cases can any difference be established between the use of Biblical Aramaic and that of the Targums, and the singular impressiveness that Wilson supposes to belong to the difference of use that he alleges vanishes on closer examination. In the same way, when he adduces סדר and אסר as meaning *put* in Onkelos, he is quoting an extended meaning, and not the essential meaning of the words. Thus סדר really means *order*, *arrange*. It is used of ordering a battle in Gen 14 : 8, rendering ערך, and it stands in the Targum of pseudo-Jonathan in Gen 43 : 32, rendering שים, in the sense of arranging places at a meal. On each of the three occasions when Onkelos uses it to render שים, viz., Ex 19 : 7, 21 : 1, Dt 4 : 44, the reference is to the setting forth in order of a series of laws.

Finally, אסר has the fundamental meaning *bind*. It is used in Gen 42 : 24 to render the Hebrew אסר, while in Lev 24 : 12 it renders נוח Hiph., where the meaning is *put* (*in ward*). In the one case where Onkelos uses this word to render שים, it has reference to the putting on of sackcloth, viz., Gen 37 : 34.

Wilson adds that on the one occasion where שים occurs in Onkelos, it is used to render another verb. It is, however, used in Gen 50 : 26 to render שים, and in Lev 19 : 14 to render נתן.[1]

All of these irrelevant 'data', therefore, prove on examination, not that Daniel used all these verbs in a sense different from that found in Onkelos, but the exact opposite. They prove that to each of these verbs common to Daniel and Onkelos, Daniel attached exactly the sense it has in the Targum of Onkelos. The introduction of these 'data', to which Wilson attaches such strange importance, can only serve to confuse the real point at issue. That point is the common use of שים in Biblical

[1] Wilson would eliminate the former of these by remarking that the text is disputed. It is true that the readings שמוהי and סמוהי are found, exactly as in Lev 19 : 14 we find תשים and תסים. Why the one should be held to be certain and the other doubtful is not clear. Nor is the difference of reading relevant to the present discussion.

Hebrew, in Early Aramaic and in Biblical Aramaic, as against the common use of שוי in the Targums. With that point we have sufficiently dealt above.

(2) יהב and נתן are both used in Biblical Aramaic, Egyptian Aramaic, Nabataean and Palmyrene, with the meaning *give*, e. g., יהב in Ezr 4 : 20, Dn 2 : 21, AP 1 : 2 (EP), NSI 81 : 6 (N), 122 : 3 (P) and נתן in Ezr 4 : 13, Dn 2 : 16, Gir^{T} 2 : 5 (Egy), AP 1 : 6 (EP), NSI 79 : 3 (N), Tar 2 a : 5 (P). Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions have only יהב, which occurs four times, viz., CIS ii. 70 : 1, 71 : 1, ESE ii. p. 206 N : 1, AUA i. : 7, while the Zenjirli inscriptions have only נתן, which is found nine times, all in the Hadad inscription. In Biblical Hebrew and in the Targums we find both roots, but in the former נתן overwhelmingly preponderates, while in the latter the preponderance has moved over to יהב, and נתן is found only in the Imperfect and the Infinitive. It may be remarked that all the occurrences of נתן in Biblical Aramaic are also in the Imperfect or the Infinitive, as are the great majority of those found in the Papyri. Some Perfect forms, however, are found in the Papyri and in the Zenjirli inscriptions.

We may note that in each of the four groups of our texts where both words are found יהב preponderates, but that the preponderance is most marked in Biblical Aramaic. Thus in Egyptian Aramaic יהב occurs over eighty times, as against נתן some seventy times; in Nabataean יהב is found four times, as against נתן three times; in Palmyrene יהב stands three times, as against נתן twice; while in Ezra יהב appears eight times, as against נתן but four times, and in Daniel יהב is found twenty times, as against נתן but four times.

(3) בעא is found in Daniel, the Papyri, Palmyrene and perhaps Nabataean, meaning *ask*, *seek*, e. g. Dn. 2 : 13, AP 30 : 17 (EP), Eut 22 : 4[1] (N), Tar 2 b : 20 (P). In Ezra, however, we do not find this root, but instead we find בקר with the meaning *seek*, *inquire*, e. g. 4 : 15. The latter root occurs in some Sinaitic in-

[1] In CIS ii. 219 : 4 the reading יאתא is given, however, instead of Euting's יבעא.

scriptions in the word מבקרא = *explorer* (CIS ii. 2118, 2661, 2667, 2668, 2669).

Here we may be cautioned against judging from silence. The Targums have both words, but בעא is by far the more common. It is clear, therefore, that we can neither conclude that בעא did not exist in the Aramaic of Ezra's time, since its existence in Aramaic is known from 408 B.C. to the time of the Targums, nor that בקר did not exist in the dialect of the Nabataeans and Palmyrenes, since its existence is attested from the time of the composition of the Aramaic portions of the book of Ezra to that of the Sinaitic inscriptions and the Targums. And if we cannot argue from silence that the word בקר was not used by the Nabataeans and Palmyrenes, neither can we so argue that Daniel and the Papyri were written by people whose dialect lacked this word. We are left without any help at all for our purpose.

(4) Forms from יכל and כהל are found in both Daniel and the Papyri, while Nabataean has only יכל, e.g. יכל in Dn 2 : 27, AP 1 : 4 (EP), Eut 23 : 2 (N), and כהל in Dn 2 : 26, AP 5 : 6 (EP). We are precluded from finding here any significant resemblance between Daniel and the Papyri, however, by the fact that the Targums have both forms, though יכל greatly predominates, and כהל is not found in Onkelos. In Daniel, too, יכל predominates, presenting twelve examples as against four of כהל, while in the Papyri and Ostraka כהל slightly preponderates, occurring eighteen times as against יכל fourteen times.

(5) דחל is found in Daniel and Palmyrene (e.g. Dn 2 : 31, NSI 110 : 3), and זחל in the ZKR inscription (a : 13), with the meaning *fear*, while דלח stands in the Zenjirli inscriptions (NSI 61 : 24. 30). The Papyri once have דלח (AP Aḥ : 113), but with the sense *disturb*, *trouble*, found in Biblical Hebrew in Ezk 32 : 2. 13. Elsewhere the Papyri have דחל, with the meaning *fear* (AP 37 : 7, Aḥ : 45. 54).[1] Daniel and Palmyrene are in agreement with the Targums,

[1] Phonetically these two roots are quite distinct. Thus we have BH זחל (Jb 32 : 6 only), Targ דחל, Syr ܕܚܠ, Ar زَحْلٌ, and BH דלח, Ass *dalâḫu*, Targ דלח, Syr ܕܠܚ.

which have רחל. We may not conclude, however, that דלח is but an early word, which had become obsolete by the time Daniel was written, for though not found in Onkelos, it is found in the other Targums, with the meaning *be anxious*, or *afraid*.

(6) גשם stands in Daniel (3 : 27. 28, 4 : 30, 5 : 21) with the meaning *body*, while Egyptian Aramaic perhaps has גוף. CIS read גף in CIS ii. 146 A : 5 (= AP 72 : 5) and גופן in CIS ii. 149 BC : 9 (= AP 69 : 10), but Cowley reads differently in both places. CIS further read גופא in CIS ii. 147 D : 1 (= AP 73 : 8) where Cowley reads גפיא. In AP 73 : 1, Cowley reads גפא and גפיא, in agreement with CIS ii. 147 A : 1, but the text is so fragmentary that we cannot be sure of the meaning here. There must remain some doubt, therefore, whether this word is really found in the Papyri. If it does stand there, then the Papyri are in agreement with the Targums. Nabataean here differs from both Daniel and the Targums, using גת (NSI 80 : 6), which is not found elsewhere in Aramaic, and is an Arabism. The word which is used in Daniel, however, is known to have maintained itself in Aramaic, since גושמא appears in pseudo-Jonathan and in Syriac.

(7) אנש is found for *man* in Biblical Aramaic, the Zenjirli, Arabian, and Assyrian inscriptions and in the Papyri, and also in the Palmyrene inscriptions, e.g. Ezr. 4 : 11, 6 : 11, Dn 2 : 10 *et al.*, NSI 61 : 30, 62 : 23 (Zenj), 69 : 20 (Arab), CIS ii. 17 : 2 (Ass), AP 28 : 8 *et al.* (EP), NSI 145 : 3, Tar 1 : 11 (P). It should be added that while the word is common in Daniel, as also in the Targums, it stands but seven times in the Papyri.[1] The use of this word is attested, then, in almost all Aramaic dialects from the earliest to the latest times. Beside this, however, we find אנוש twice in Daniel (4 : 13. 14 Kt), and this used to be considered, and still is considered by Wilson, to be a Hebraism. But this is the form found in Nabataean,[2] where it occurs some twenty times (e.g. NSI 79 : 7). It is therefore probably a true Aramaic form, and one that maintained itself until relatively late. On the other

[1] In addition CIS ii. 149 BC : 12 read אנשן, but Cowley reads differently in AP 69 : 13.

[2] Written אלוש in NSI 90 : 4, by a scribal error.

hand, at Zenjirli we find אש (NSI 61 : 11. 34), as also in the inscription of ZKR (a : 2),[1] and in Egyptian Aramaic we frequently[2] have איש (e.g. NSI 75 : 2, AP 8 : 11). This last form is found nowhere else, save once in Palmyrene (Vog 71 : 2). It thus appears that the more frequent use of the Papyri is in disagreement with that of the Targums, and the more frequent use of Biblical Aramaic is in agreement with that of the Targums, while the exceptional use of Biblical Aramaic is richly attested as late as the Nabataean inscriptions.

From this group we must hesitate to pass any judgement. We note, however, that in every case the usage of Biblical Aramaic is attested at least as late as the Nabataean inscriptions, save that in the case of שים the Targumic use is very rare. But here evidence from Nabataean and Palmyrene is lacking. Further, while emphasizing again the precariousness of any judgement here, we may remark that the limited material we possess would seem to show us the balance of usage on some points in process of moving over from one word to its alternative, and here Daniel would appear to stand farther on in the course of that transition than the Papyri, if we may trust the evidence of the proportions preserved to us. This is so both in the case of יהב as against נתן, and of יכל as against כהל. Again, therefore, we have indications, even though not of themselves very weighty, that Biblical Aramaic, and in particular the Aramaic of Daniel, is later than that of the Papyri, while in this group of words we once more find no fact that is at variance with that view.

(D) A few further miscellaneous words which are found in Biblical Aramaic, but not found, or only rarely found, in the Targums, still call for notice.

(1) נצל is found in the Haphel in Daniel and the Papyri, meaning *deliver* (Dn 3 : 29, 6 : 15. 28, AP 8 : 18, 9 : 10, 18 : 3, Aḥ : 81). Though not found in the Targums, however, we find this verb in the Talmud.

[1] Torrey (*JAOS* xxxv. p. 357) argues that אש is the relative.

[2] Nearly forty times in all.

(2) בל, meaning *mind*, occurs in Daniel (6 : 15) and the Papyri (AP Aḥ : 97), but not in the Targums.

(3) כנת, *associate*, appears in Ezra (4 : 9 *et al.*) and the Papyri (AP 6 : 6 and often), but is not found in the Targums.

(4) שפט, *judge*, is found in Ezra (7 : 25) and the Papyri (AP 5^2 : 5. 7, Aḥ : 104), but not in the Targums.

The first and fourth of these words were common in Hebrew and appear to have had a place in early Jewish Aramaic, though perhaps שפט should be regarded as a Hebraism. As to when they became obsolete we have no means of knowing. The second and third, on the contrary, first come before us in Egyptian and Biblical Aramaic, but later are found in Syriac.

(5) נשא is found in Biblical Aramaic (Ezr 4 : 19, 5 : 15, Dn 2 : 35), the ZKR inscription (a. 11, b : 27), and the Papyri (AP Aḥ 90. 95. 111. 112. 121 *bis*) meaning *lift*, *take*. In the Targums, however, we usually find נסב. Here it is to be noted that occurrences in Biblical Aramaic are very few—fewer than in the Papyri. Moreover, we find that נסב already appears alongside נשא in the Papyri (AP Aḥ : 112), and the one occurrence of נשא in Daniel, and two in Ezra, are insufficient to warrant the conclusion that this word alone was found in the dialect spoken by the authors of these books. From the earliest to the latest times נסב seems to have belonged to the language, for apart from the instance quoted from the Papyri, we find it at Babylon (ESE ii, p. 202, line 26) and in Palmyrene (ESE ii, p. 301, Fa : 4).

Once more, on the scanty evidence before us in this group of words, we must hesitate to pronounce any judgement. That Biblical Aramaic and the Papyri agree in the use of these words does not necessarily mean that they were contemporary writings, and we here gain no clue as to which was the earlier, or the interval that may have divided them. Moreover, we have already found frequent warning against judging from silence, and the absence of these words from some of our sources may be due to their fragmentariness.

Our general conclusion, then, from the study of the Vocabulary, apart from the foreign words, which still remain to be considered,

is that we have scant ground for distinguishing the position of Biblical Aramaic amongst the groups. We have found some indications pointing to a period for Biblical Aramaic intermediate between that of the Papyri and that of the Targums, but taken by themselves they could not bear much weight, and most of the evidence that comes under the heading of Vocabulary must be pronounced quite neutral.

R. D. Wilson, however, has no hesitation in pronouncing a very definite judgement. He declares[1] that 'the evidence of the strictly Aramaic vocabulary of the dialect of Daniel is predominantly in favour of the early date and the eastern provenience'. This statement makes up in assurance what it lacks in argument. The only item of the vocabulary for the discussion of which he has furnished any evidence on which to base this judgement consists of the use of שׁים as against שׂוא, and a few irrelevant verbs whose introduction we have seen to confuse the issue, and we have already shown that even this item does not lead to the conclusion he draws.

While, however, this sweeping claim can only be pronounced quite unjustified, we must recognize that no similar sweeping claim can be made on the other side. The utmost that can be maintained is that amidst evidence which is mainly neutral there are some indications that Biblical Aramaic is intermediate between that of the Papyri and that of the Targums. That we should be able to make no more definite judgement, however, is but what we should expect. In the wider field of Semitic philology the most important differences are not of Vocabulary, but of phonetic changes and of grammatical texture, and it is but natural that in the narrower sphere of Early Aramaic dialects we should meet with but few noteworthy differences of Vocabulary. Much more important for the purposes of comparison are those differences in writing and inflexion which appear in every text, and enter into the very warp and woof of the dialects. It is there that we primarily seek the character of the dialects, and there that we find it.

[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 303.

XIII

When we turn to examine the Foreign Elements in the Vocabulary of the various inscriptions and the Papyri, and of Biblical Aramaic, we find lexical points of greater interest and significance, though even here we observe that there are but few really important points.

(1) A number of words which appear to be Hebraisms are to be found in our texts, though in many cases it would be unsafe to dogmatize in view of the narrow limits of our knowledge of Early Aramaic. Of these probable Hebraisms, a few[1] are found in the inscription of ZKR of Hamath, and several in the first two of the Zenjirli inscriptions.[2] So far as these inscriptions are concerned, we should perhaps regard these words as due to Phoenician rather than to Hebrew influence. Indeed, there is some doubt as to whether the first two Zenjirli inscriptions should not rather be classed with Punic than with Aramaic inscriptions.[3]

A few isolated Hebraisms occurring elsewhere in our texts may be noted, viz., לאמר, which stands three times in the Assyrian political letter, מורשת, which perhaps stands in the Taxila inscription (Tax: 8), though the reading is not very sure, and איש, which stands once in Palmyrene, if the reading is secure (Vog 71: 2).

Apart from the ZKR and Zenjirli inscriptions, and these isolated cases, Hebraisms are found only in the Egyptian texts and in Biblical Aramaic. But when we remember that these texts were written by Jews we are not surprised to find them here. We cannot conclude from their presence that there is any close connexion in date between Biblical Aramaic and that of the Papyri. They but testify to the national bond between the writers.

We may note, however, that the Hebraisms are much more common in the Papyri than in Biblical Aramaic. In the Papyri

[1] Halévy analyses (*RS* xvi. p. 371) the language of the ZKR inscription, noting a number of Hebrew words in its Vocabulary.

[2] Cf. NSI pp. 184 f.

[3] *Vide supra*, p. 4.

we find איש nearly forty times, לאמר more than a score of times, forms from the verb לקח nearly a score of times, זת (probably = זאת, *this*) in AP 18 : 3, נשחט (Niphal participle, from a root not found elsewhere in Aramaic) in AP 15 : 10, עדה in AP 15 : 22. 26, and forms from שפט in AP 52 : 5. 7, Aḥ : 104. In Daniel and Ezra we find, apart from grammatical forms which have been dealt with above, such as Hophal forms, the following Hebraisms : אחרית in Dn 2 : 28, אנשים in Dn 4 : 14, אלפים in Dn 7 : 10, מלכים in Ezr 4 : 13,[1] יוכל in Dn 2 : 10 (ct. יכל in 3 : 29), תוכל in Dn 5 : 16 *bis*, נגד in Dn 6 : 11, ניהוחין in Dn 2 : 46, Ezr 6 : 10, עליונין in Dn 7 : 18. 22. 25. 27, קצף in Dn 2 : 12 and קצף in Ezr 7 : 23,[2] רענן in Dn 4 : 1, שפטין in Ezr 7 : 25.

In addition, there are some noun formations which do not seem to be genuinely Aramaic, but to be borrowed from Hebrew, which secured a permanent place for themselves in Aramaic and appear in the Targums. Bevan notes מנחה, which is commonly found in Onkelos,[3] and חנכה, which is also Targumic.[4] Bauer and Leander include[5] certain other classes of words, as רבו, which is Targumic, and בלו, which is probably an Assyrian loan-word; דכרון, which is found in Nabataean,[6] רעיון and שלטון, which are Targumic,[7] and the latter of which is also found in Nabataean;[8] נהורא and חשוכא, which are also Targumic;[9] גזרה and יקדה, which again are Targumic.[10] All of these words stand in a different class from those noted in the previous paragraph, in that they became regular Aramaic forms.

[1] These plurals in ־ם are on a different footing from the pronominal suffixes in ־הם and ־כם. Here we have no parallel in early inscriptions or Papyri, and our evidence would show that the regular termination in genuine Aramaic was always ־ן.

[2] These words are not found in the Targums, but are known in Syriac.

[3] E. g., Ex 29 : 41, 40 : 29, Lev 2 : 1.

[4] It is not given in Levy^{ChW}, but Buxtorf gives it in his *Lex. Chald. Talm. et Rabb.*, quoting Num 8 : 10 (*sic*; read 7 : 10), where Onkelos has it. (Also 7 : 11. 84. 88.) Cf. also Dal^{AG} p. 151.

[5] *Vide* B-L p. 10. And cf. Bauer, *Überreste der kanaanäischen Unterschicht in den aramäischen Sprachen*, in *OLZ*, 1926, cols. 801–3.

[6] CIS ii. 163 A, 169, 338. [7] Cf. Dal^{AG} p. 175.

[8] NSI 96 : 5. [9] Cf. Dal^{AG} p. 158. [10] *Ibid.*

To the Hebraisms in the Papyri S–C would add[1] עד. Littmann finds the same word in Nabataean in Litt 100,[2] and it is found a number of times in the Targum of Onkelos.[3] On the other hand, some scholars would add several to the Hebraisms of Biblical Aramaic. Thus Bevan says[4] that מרומם and התרוממת are undeniable Hebraisms, and Kautzsch would add[5] מסובלין and אשתומם. Nöldeke, however, in his review of Kautzsch's Grammar,[6] pronounced these genuine Aramaic forms. Bevan further mentions a few other words, which would hardly seem, on examination, to be true Hebraisms. Thus (*a*) the Haphel of נצל is found not only in Daniel, but also several times in the Papyri, and while it does not appear to be Targumic, it appears in the Talmud.[7] Moreover, BDB adduces[8] Syr ܢܨܠ and Ar نَصَلَ. The root seems, therefore, to be not merely Hebrew, but to be established in Semitic speech in general, and in Aramaic in particular. (*b*) Similarly, too, the Haphel of זוד is found not only in Daniel, but also in Onkelos, in Ex 21 : 14.[9] We may here further compare Ar زَادَ. (*c*) So again with מאזניא, which we find in Daniel. Here we note that the Papyri provide us with an example of מוזנא (AP 15 : 24), while in Lev 19 : 36 Onkelos has מוזנן. Further, pseudo-Jonathan has מודנא, the Jerusalem Targum מזניא, and the Targum of Jonathan מוזניא.[10] BDB also compares[11] Syr ܡܐܙܢܐ, Ar مِيزَانٌ, and Mandaean מואניא. (*d*) Yet again, we need not regard the Haphel of שמד in Daniel as a Hebraism. The noun שמדין is found in Nabataean in NSI 80 : 8, with the meaning *curses*. It is true the Aphel is not found in the Targums, but we meet with the

[1] P. 20.

[2] Lidz., however, following Littmann's earlier reading, reads this inscription differently. (*Vide* ESE ii. p. 257. Cf. also CIS ii. 163, RES 803, 2023.)

[3] *E.g.*, Gen 4 : 25, 7 : 4, 8 : 10. 12. It is omitted from Levy^{ChW}.

[4] *Dan.*, p. 39.

[5] K^{GBA} p. 59.

[6] *Vide GGA*, 1884, p. 1016.

[7] *Vide* Levy^{NHW} *s. v.*

[8] P. 664.

[9] The root is found in pseudo-Jonathan, e.g., Ex 15 : 21. It should also be noted that D. H. Müller reads זד in NSI 61 : 30, where others read זר, thus finding this root in the Zenjirli dialect. Cf. *VOJ* vii. p. 68.

[10] *Vide* Levy^{ChW} *s. vv.*

[11] Pp. 24, 1079.

Ithpaal in Onkelos, with the meaning *be made to apostatize* (Ex 12 : 43), while the Pael is found in the Talmud with the meaning *make to apostatize*.[1] BDB further, following Barth, cites Ass. *ašmud* = *I destroyed*. There seems no reason here, therefore, to find a Hebraism. The fundamental meaning of the root would seem to be *curse*. The Pael means *cause to curse* (*what one once blessed*), i.e. *make to apostatize*, while the Hiphil or Aphel means *fulfil a curse*, or *treat as accursed*, i.e., *destroy*.

Again, the word הצדא in Dn 3 : 14 has been held by some to be a Hebraism, connected with BH צְדָיָה = *purpose*. Bevan, Driver, and others altered the text to הַאוּדָא. Torrey, however, objected to this, and proposed[2] to find Interrogative ה and a noun in the adverbial accusative, viz., the Infinitive of the verb יצד, with the meaning *Is it true?* He adduced the Arabic وَطَّدَ, *be sure, established*, and explained the form of the word by comparing עֻמָּא from יעם, *חֻמָּא from יחם, and שֻׁנָּה from ישן. The initial vowel he held to be shortened as in חֻמָּא (3 : 19) and חֻמָּא (3 : 13), giving הַצְדָּא, which became הַצַדָּא. This explanation is confirmed by the occurrence of הצדא in the Assyrian political letter (AUA i. : 12), which Lidzbarski first read[3] as הצרא, rendering the verb by *spalten, zerreissen*. Baneth, however, read[4] הצדא, and connected with BA הצדא, but gave the meaning *be waste*, adducing Syr ܨܕܐ. In his more recent edition, Lidzbarski rightly rejects[5] Baneth's explanation, and renders *ob . . . zutreffend sind*, in harmony with Torrey's contention.

The number of Hebraisms remaining in the Vocabulary of Biblical Aramaic is therefore not large. But even though all of these words were allowed to be Hebraisms, it would still be difficult to understand Wilson's contention that Daniel is 'full of Hebrew common words', in contrast to the Papyri.[6] The root לקח is common enough in Hebrew. It occurs nowhere in the

[1] *Vide* Levy^{NHW} *s. v.*
[2] *Vide TCA* Vol xv. (1909), pp. 261 ff. Cf. too *JAOS* xliii. (1923), p. 231.
[3] Cf. *ZA* xxxi. (1918), pp. 193 ff.
[4] Cf. *OLZ* xxii. (1919), cols. 55 ff.
[5] AUA (1921).
[6] *Loc. cit.*, p. 301.

whole range of Aramaic literature, outside the first two of the Zenjirli inscriptions—concerning which we have already said there is some dispute as to whether they should rightly be classed as Aramaic or not—save in a very rare occurrence of the Ithpeel in the Talmud, and nearly a score of times in the Papyri. So, too, איש is a common enough Hebrew word. It is found nearly forty times in the Papyri. Wilson has yet to show us any common Hebrew words with which Daniel is fuller than are the papyri with these alone. And to these two examples we might add the almost equally strong case of לאמר, where, although the root is common enough in Aramaic, the particular form is doubtless a Hebraism. This form is found in the Papyri more than a score of times.

(2) Assyrian and Babylonian loan-words are found in the inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia, in Biblical Aramaic and the Papyri, in Nabataean, and Palmyrene, and occasionally elsewhere. Thus we find, for example, in the ZKR inscription אפש, in the Zenjirli inscriptions כרסא and פחי, in the Guzneh inscription from Cilicia תחומא, and in the Sardis bilingual בירתא. These are of little significance for our purpose, especially since all but the first became well established in Aramaic. Nor can we find much significance for our purpose in the more numerous such loan-words found in the Assyrian and Babylonian Aramaic texts, such as אגרת, אולת, אישפר (ESE ii. p. 201 E), אשת, דנת (found only on Assyrian tablets, the Babylonian using שטר),[1] הלך (AI 26, 35, 48), כור (AUA i.: 18), לאם, לבת (AUA i.: 19. 20), סגן (AI 40). Moreover, the occurrences in Nabataean and Palmyrene give us little help, being few in number and mainly words which persisted in Aramaic. We find, e.g., in Nabataean אפכלא,[2] בירתא, גוחא,[3] and שיזב, and in Palmyrene אגרתא, בבא, גמחא, היכל, and תחומא.

It should also be noted that in Nabataean and Palmyrene the Babylonian names of the months are of common occurrence, as

[1] *Vide* Delaporte, EA p. 14.

[2] Cf. J-S i. (1909), p. 171, and AF p. 29.

[3] Ct. גמחא in Palmyrene. Both are from *kimaḫḫu*. Cf. BH אַרְגָּמָן = *argamannu* = Syr ܐܪܓܘܡܢ = Aram ארגון, and *zîmu* = זיו = ܙܝܐ, and *simānu* = סיון.

also in the Papyri. Elsewhere, too, they are occasionally found. For our present study, however, we leave these names, and also all Proper Names, out of account. Apart from these, we observe that Assyrian and Babylonian loan-words are especially common in Egyptian Aramaic and in Biblical Aramaic.

Wilson regards the presence of so many of these loan-words in Biblical Aramaic as supporting his theory of an early and an eastern origin for the book of Daniel, and in this he is followed by Boutflower. It should be noted, however, (i) that the presence of so many such words in Egyptian Aramaic in the Persian period proves that their use was widely spread, and persisted for some time after the collapse of the Neo-Babylonian Empire; (ii) that the existence of a few of these words in Nabataean and Palmyrene proves that Akkadian influence on speech persisted, though in a lesser degree, into the Greek and Roman period; (iii) that the presence of Babylonian and Assyrian words in the Targums shows that Akkadian influence on Aramaic speech never became entirely extinct.

We thus see that there is no reason to conclude either that Biblical Aramaic was early, or that it had an eastern origin, on the ground of these words, *unless they are remarkably numerous and reveal a specially strong Babylonian influence.* As a matter of fact, they are, as we have said, fewer than in the Egyptian Aramaic of the fifth century B. C. If we examine the words which the Oxford Hebrew Lexicon regards as loan-words from Assyrian and Babylonian, some of which are found in Biblical Hebrew as well as in Biblical Aramaic, we find that more than half of such words found in the Aramaic of Daniel and Ezra are found also in the Targums. Thus the following words are common to Biblical Aramaic and the Targums: אגרה (also in Palmyrene), אש (Targ אושא), אתון, בירתא (also in Sardis and Nabataean), היכל (also in Palmyrene), זיו, כרסא (Targ כורסיא), מנא,[1] נדבך, נולי (Ezra נולו), סגן, עדן, פחר, שיזב (also in Nabataean), שיציא and שכלל.[2] Apart from

[1] Several scholars follow Clermont-Ganneau in finding מנא = *Mina* in Dn 5 : 25. 26.

[2] Zimmern would add זמן or זבן, found in BA, Nabataean and Palmyrene,

these words, Daniel and Ezra have each only five Assyrian and Babylonian loan-words which are not found in the Targums, viz., in Daniel, אשף, חשח, כרבלה, פחה and שגל, and in Ezra, אשרנא, בלו, הלך, מנדה, and פחה. Boutflower would make our argument the stronger by adding to the Assyrian loan-words of Daniel the following nine words, each of which is found also in the Targums, כפת, כרא, כתל, מלך, נזק, נתר, פלח, צלא, and רחץ. The Akkadian influence on Biblical Aramaic cannot be pronounced remarkably strong, when the majority of the loan words were such as persisted in Aramaic for several centuries, and but five words are found in each of our Biblical texts which did not so persist.

When we turn to Egyptian Aramaic, however, we find that in addition to seven words in common with Biblical Aramaic and the Targums, viz., אגרה, בירתא, היכל, מנה, סגן, עדן and שזב, there is but one further word in common with Daniel, viz., כרבלה, and two in common with Ezra, viz., אשרנא, and בלו. On the other hand, it has perhaps twenty-one further probable loan-words which are not found in Biblical Aramaic, and of these but eight are found in the Targums, viz., אגורא,[1] אלפא,[2] ארדיכל, בבא, דבב, כרסא, כסתא, and תחומא. The remaining thirteen words are not Targumic, viz., אגר, אפיתי,[3] אפל,[4] דנה,[5] חלר, חנן,[6] טף,[7] לבת,[8] מקלו,[9] נפחר, רביא, and תמחי. In addition, the technical legal use of אבל and גרי,[10] and of the phrases טיב לבב and דבב ודין, is perhaps borrowed from Babylonian.[11] It thus appears that while the

which he derives from Akk. *simānu* (AF p. 63). Most, however, regard as a Persian loan-word.

[1] Cf. Van Hoonacker in *Schweich Lectures*, 1914, p. 53. It should be noted that the meaning in the Targums is different from that in the Papyri.

[2] In APO 64 2 *inn*: 2, 65 2 *inn*: 3, ESE ii. p. 242 Na : 3. 9.

[3] So Cowley in AP 26 : 9.

[4] So Cowley in AP 13 : 4. But G. R. Driver reads אבל.

[5] So Cowley in AP 10 : 23, where Sachau and Ungnad found the Pronoun.

[6] So Cowley in AP 26 : 11, following Ungnad.

[7] So Cowley in AP 26 : 10. 18, following Ungnad.

[8] So Baneth and Cowley in AP 37 : 11, 41 : 4. Cf. too, AUA i. : 19. 20.

[9] So Cowley in AP 33 : 10.

[10] So G. R. Driver in AP 13 : 4. See *JTS* xxv. p. 298.

[11] It has been said above that שקל is probably a loan-word, and it is not, therefore, dealt with again here.

Papyri have fifteen Assyrian and Babylonian loan-words in common with the Targums, they have sixteen which are not found in the Targums, while Ezra has eight in common with the Targums and five not found there, and Daniel has ten in common with the Targums and five which they have not. Or, if the list of Babylonian and Assyrian loan-words in Daniel which Boutflower gives is preferred, it would mean that fifteen are common to Daniel and the Targums, and four are found in Daniel but not in the Targums. It is manifest that this evidence does not embarrass the view that Daniel was written later than the Papyri, though it is hard to see how it can give much support to the view that Daniel was written in Babylon and is older than the Papyri. So far as our evidence goes, the proportion of these words common to Ezra and the Targums is greater than that common to the Papyri and the Targums, while in the case of Daniel it is still greater. While in literature so scanty as our texts, all arguments on Vocabulary are liable to be precarious, it is noteworthy how commonly the fragmentary evidence we have points, so far as it goes, to the conclusion that Biblical Aramaic is later than the Papyri. A single point could not be stressed, since it could be brushed aside as due to the accident of preservation. But the cumulative effect of so frequent pointers in the same direction cannot be lightly brushed aside.

(3) Persian loan-words are found in Daniel, Ezra, and the Papyri, and occasionally elsewhere, as, e. g., אסתונא (CIS ii. 109) and פתכר (*JAOS* xxxv. p. 372 t : 1) in Cilicia, אתרתא (Sard : 3),[1] דרחתא (Sard : 2),[2] סתונא (Sard : 2)[3] and פרבר (Sard : 3)[4] in Lydia,

[1] So Torrey in *AJSL* xxxiv. pp. 185 ff. Cowley, however, would read either אתרתא and connect with BH אשׁרה, or אתדתא and connect with BH אשׁדה (*CRAI* 1921, pp. 7 ff.). Lidz. regards as an Aramaic gloss on the previous word (*ZA* xxxi. pp. 122 ff.).

[2] So Cook in *JHS* xxxvii. pp. 77 ff. and Torrey in *AJSL loc. cit.* Cowley rejects, however, and suggests that we have a mistake for דרהתא, and compares Talmudic דַּרְהָתָא, pl. דרהתא (*CRAI loc. cit.*). Lidz. regards as Lydian loan-word (*ZA loc. cit.*).

[3] So Cowley (*CRAI loc. cit.*). Cook adduces אסתודנא of CIS ii. 109 (*JHS loc. cit.*), but Cuny rejects any connexion of these words (*REA* xxii. pp. 259 ff.).

[4] So Cook (*JHS loc. cit.*) and Cowley (*CRAI loc. cit.*). Andreas (*apud*

מיבנו (Av P : 1)[1] in Persia, זבן and זמן[2] in Nabataean, and ארגבטא[3] and זבן in Palmyrene.

It is not surprising that with rise and the spread of Persian power Persian words should be found in various parts of their Empire, nor that, once introduced, they should persist for some time. The Papyri are known to have been written well on in the Persian period by the dates they bear, and they naturally reflect considerable Persian influence. The only problem is what significance should be attached to the presence of Persian words in Biblical Aramaic, and more especially in the Aramaic of Daniel. Must we conclude, with Wilson, that they point to the origin of the book of Daniel within a few years of the rise of the Persian power, or may we yet regard Daniel as being a product of the second century B. C.?

S. R. Driver mentions[4] fifteen words occurring in the book of Daniel as certainly Persian, and three others as probably Persian. In addition he notes two others as being uncertain. W. St. Clair Tisdall, in his paper read before the Victoria Institute,[5] maintained that all of these words are Persian, save that he omitted דחבר, but in addition he noted the word זמן, which Driver had omitted, though it is noted in the Oxford Hebrew Lexicon as a Persian loan-word, and גברשתא. To these Boutflower would add[6] the word כרוז, and he retains דחבר. Of these twenty-three words, however, three are found only in the Hebrew sections of the book of Daniel, and do not therefore directly concern us here. There

Littmann in *Sardis* VI i. pp. 23 ff.) reads פרבר but Cowley does not regard his etymology as convincing (*Sardis* VI ii. p. 3).

[1] Cowley so reads and explains in *JRAS* 1919, pp. 147 ff. (Ct. Sayce in *JHS* xxxix. pp. 202 ff.).

[2] Wilson says (*loc. cit.* p. 297) there are no Persian words in Nabataean. But these two words are probably alternative forms of a Persian loan-word, which seems to have gone through several Semitic languages (cf. Ar زَمَن, Targ זמן, Syr ܙܒܢ, Mand זיבנא, Sam בזמן). Zimmern, however, regards as Akkadian loan-word (cf. AF 63).

[3] In Vog 27 : 2 it is misprinted ארגבתא (cf. facsimile).

[4] See *Dan.* (CB) p. lvi. f.

[5] Afterwards published in *JTVI* liii. (1921) pp. 206 ff.

[6] *Op. cit.*, pp. 258 ff.

remain then, at most twenty words, and of these no less than twelve are found in Targumic Aramaic, viz. the derivative הדם (though the noun is not found), המניכא, זמן, זן, כרוז, נבזבה, נברשתא, נדנא,[1] סרך, סרבל, פתגם,[2] and רז, leaving only the following eight non-Targumic words: אדרגזר, אזדא, אחשדרפנא, גדבריא, דת, דתבר, הדבר, and תפתיא.

The Aramaic sections of Ezra contain five Persian words which are also found in the Targums, viz. גזברא, גנז, זמן, פרשגן, and פתגם, together with four further words which do not appear in the Targums, viz. אדרזדא, אפתם,[3] דת and נשתון.

In the Papyri W. St. Clair Tisdall finds twenty-eight[4] Persian words. In the case of two of the words in his list, however, Cowley reads the text differently, viz. דתכיא (AP 16 : 7), instead of רתכיא, which Sachau read, and זך דגנא (AP Aḥ : 129), for Sachau's זפרנגא. In the first of these cases, however, Cowley still finds a Persian loan-word. Further, Cowley pronounces the proposed Persian derivation of אושפר unsatisfactory,[5] while the cases of אפסר,[6] פתיפא,[7] and אופכרת are also doubtful. Moreover, אשרנא, which Tisdall holds to be Persian, is more commonly

[1] Many editors would eliminate this word from the text of Daniel, as a corruption.

[2] It should be noted that Torrey (ES p. 177) rejects the Persian origin, and proposes a Greek.

[3] Torrey again rejects the Persian derivation in favour of a Greek one, adopting the reading אפתם (ES p. 175).

[4] Tisdall actually gives (*JTVI* liii. pp. 225–9) a list of thirty-three words in his examination of the alleged Persian words in the Papyri, but included among them are פחטמוני, which he says looks like a Greek word, and not a Persian, but which is probably neither, but Egyptian, סתתר, which he identifies with the Greek *στατήρ*, כתון, which he declares to be evidently the Ionic *κιθών*, Attic *χιτών*, זרניך, in which he finds a Greek loan-word, and טסן, for which he contents himself with merely rejecting both Greek and Persian derivations suggested by others. It would appear, therefore, that there are but twenty-eight words for which Tisdall claims a Persian origin.

[5] AP p. 92.

[6] This word does not appear in the Vocabularies in S-C, APO or AP. Presumably אפסי (AP 26 : 12) is the word intended. Tisdall merely gives a Persian derivation which he admits to be inapt.

[7] Presumably this is פתפא, פתף of AP 24 : 39 *et al.* The meaning suggested by Tisdall is unsuitable to the context, however. Probably this is a popular abbreviation of פתיפרס.

regarded as an Akkadian loan-word, and has been so included above, though there is little agreement as to its exact derivation. There remain twenty-two Persian loan-words, viz. אזד, אודים, אביגדן, הנגית,[1] הנבגא, המרכריא, דתכיא, דושכרתא, גנז, גושכיא, אזדכרא, אזדרב, פתיפרס, פרתרך, פרמנכריא, נשתון, נופתא, כרש, זן, הנדיז, הנדון, and תיפתיא. To these, however, we should add מזדיון,[2] נבו,[3] and המונית,[4] while Cowley argues that זרניך is also Persian.[5] We may therefore reckon at least twenty-six Persian words in the Vocabulary of the Papyri. Of these זן and גנז are found in the Targums.

Again, therefore, we find that a very large proportion of the Persian words found in Daniel is known to have persisted in Aramaic until Targumic times, while a very small proportion of those found in Egyptian Aramaic so persisted. In this matter, therefore, Biblical Aramaic once more stands very much nearer to the Targums than do the Papyri. Moreover, of the Persian words found in the Papyri only three[6] are found in the Aramaic sections of Ezra, viz. אזדא, גנז, and נשתון, and two in Daniel, viz. זן and תפתיא. It thus appears that in the matter of Persian loan-words Biblical Aramaic is also very much nearer to the Targums than it is to the Papyri.

W. St. Clair Tisdall here makes the curious argument that if the critical view of the date of the book of Daniel is correct, there should have been either more Persian words in Daniel than we actually find, or less. He says,[7] '*Either* the Persian element in the Book would have been *greater* than in the Papyri, in consequence of the longer duration of Persian influence, *or* its place (especially through the long continuance of Greek influence) would have been largely taken by Greek words and particularly

[1] Sachau and Ungnad read הנבקא, but Cowley (AP 43 : 9) reads הנבגא.

[2] So Cowley (AP p. 134).

[3] So Cowley (AP p. 34). But possibly Assyrian. Cf. G. R. Driver in *JTS* xxv. p. 297.

[4] So Cowley (AP p. 101). But G. R. Driver (*JTS* xxv. p. 299) proposes a Greek derivation.

[5] AP p. 96.

[6] Or four, if Tisdall's claim that אשרנא is of Persian origin were allowed.

[7] *Vide Expositor*, Nov. 1921, p. 350.

by Greek titles of officials'. But why should we expect that more than a century and a half after the collapse of the Persian Empire Persian influence on language should be greater than when it was at the height of its power? On the other hand, why should we expect that it would have almost vanished, seeing that some centuries later more than half of the Persian words we meet in Daniel still persisted in Aramaic, as is proved by their appearance in the Targums? The question of the smallness of the Greek element in the Vocabulary of Daniel will be discussed below, but here we are concerned with the suggestion that the Persian element in Daniel is too large, on the critical view of its date. It is clear that the words which are found also in the Targums centuries later can cause no surprise or embarrassment to the critical view. But we have shown above that even giving the benefit of the largest number of Persian words in Daniel suggested by any scholar, there are but eight such words found in Daniel which are not found in the Targums, or, if we add two of the three Persian words found only in the Hebrew part of Daniel, ten such words. On the other hand, in the Papyri there are at least twenty-four Persian words which are not found in the Targums, and if Tisdall's claim that a few more words found in the Papyri are Persian were allowed, the case would be still worse. It is difficult to see how Tisdall can suppose these facts to be embarrassing to the view that Daniel was written subsequently to the Papyri.

We may therefore allow Tisdall's alternatives to cancel one another. If it would be natural to expect either a much larger number of Persian words than we find, or a much smaller number, it is perhaps more natural to question the alleged naturalness of these opposite expectations. The Persian element in Daniel is greater than we should expect on the morrow of the incorporation of the Babylonian Empire, though it may be allowed that it is quite possible that some Persian words were found in Aramaic even before the establishment of the Empire of Cyrus. It is less than we find when the Persian Empire was at the height of its power, and the greater part of it is known to have persisted in Aramaic for several centuries after the latest date proposed for the

book of Daniel. Surely there is nothing here which can be supposed to be in any degree difficult on the critical view of the date of Daniel.

(4) Of Egyptian loan-words exceedingly few are found in our literature. The Egyptian names of the months stand alongside the Babylonian in the dated Papyri, and some Egyptian Proper Names are also found. But with these exceptions there are probably no Egyptian words in the Jewish Aramaic Papyri. A few are found in the fragments published in the *Corpus*, including several occurrences of two Egyptian fluid measures (קלבי and קלול) in a Papyrus which Cowley says may not have come from Elephantine, and a few isolated Egyptian words in inscriptions found in other localities, as חסחמא (CIS ii. 122 : 1), חחפי (123 : 1), תמנחא (141 : 1), מנחה (142). In one of the Papyri found at Elephantine we find two Egyptian words, viz. פחטמוני and פערער (AP 26 : 12), but this is an official communication from a Persian governor to an Egyptian official.

R. D. Wilson emphasizes the absence of Egyptian words from Daniel, as supporting his theory of the date and place of origin of that book, but he does not attempt to explain the far more remarkable absence of Egyptian influence from the Vocabulary of the Jews and Aramaeans who lived actually in Egypt. If such words could be absent there, surely we do not need to place the author in Babylon to account for the absence of Egyptian loan-words in Daniel.

(5) We may next note that a number of Arabic loan-words are found, especially in Nabataean, but also to a lesser extent in Palmyrene. This, however, is in no way surprising, for these inscriptions were written by Aramaic-speaking Arabs. We should not need to refer to these loan-words here, since Biblical Aramaic is not concerned, were it not that Wilson hails them as proving that the dialect of the Nabataeans was not even nearly allied to Biblical Aramaic.[1] To this reasoning S. R. Driver's retort is sufficient answer. He points out that if it were valid, then 'such

[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 298 f.

a book as, for instance, Roscoe's *Treatise on Chemistry*, with its abundance of technical terms and uncouth compounds, formed by the combination of Greek or Latin words, could not be described as written in a language even "nearly allied" to that of Macaulay's *History of England*'.[1]

(6) We come now to the much discussed Greek words. These we find in great numbers in the Nabataean and Palmyrene inscriptions, where, however, they occasion no surprise, for we know that long before they were written Greek culture had spread throughout the East, and Greek was still the *lingua franca* throughout the East. The real problem centres in the presence of a few Greek words in Biblical Aramaic and the few Greek words which have been found in the Papyri. Tisdall urges that we actually find rather more Greek in the Papyri than in Daniel, and implies that this would favour a date for Daniel prior to that of the Papyri. Our first task, therefore, is to examine the Greek words found in these sources.

It would occasion little surprise to find one or two Greek words in Egyptian papyri of *circa* 400 B. C., for the Greece of that age was of no little commercial importance in the Mediterranean. Nevertheless the number of Greek words which the Papyri contain is less than has been sometimes claimed.

(i) We may take first the word כתון, which Sachau regards as a loan-word = χιτών. W. St. Clair Tisdall identifies with the form κιθών. It seems quite unnecessary, however, to regard this as a Graecism. Biblical Hebrew has כְּתֹנֶת and כְּתֹנֶת = *tunic*, and the Targums have כְּתוּנָא. Sachau contrasts כתון of AP 42 : 8. 9. 13, Aḥ : 41, with כתן = *linen*, of AP 26 : 14. 20, 42 : 10. The latter he connects with Ar. كَتَّانٌ and Ass. *kitinnu*. Probably both כתן = *linen*, and כתון = *tunic*, are genuine Semitic words from a common root, which appears in Ass. *kitinnu*, BH כתנת, Aram. כְּתוּנָא and כִּיתָנָא, and Ar. كَتَّانٌ. It should be added that Liddell and Scott regard the Greek word as being derived from the Semitic, and this is much the more probable. Certainly there

[1] *Vide* LOT p. xxxviii.

is no reason to invoke Greek influence here to explain a word whose form and meaning are so closely paralleled in Hebrew, and whose Semitic connexions are so unexceptionable.

(ii) זרניך of AP 26 : 17 is regarded by Ungnad, and also by Tisdall, as borrowed from the Greek *ἀρσενικόν*. Cowley has convincingly shown, however, that it is much more likely that the Greek word is borrowed from the East.[1] It first appears in Greek in Aristotle—subsequently, that is, to its appearance here in Aramaic. Moreover, the Greek does not provide a satisfactory etymology. It is therefore much more probable that its origin is to be sought elsewhere. Cowley proposes a Persian derivation, and connects with the Persian زر = *gold*.[2] This would certainly seem appropriate for the name of a yellow pigment. It should be added that an alternative derivation is proposed by Langdon, who connects with a Sumerian word, meaning a copper-coloured substance used in dyeing.[3]

(iii) סתתר is usually held to be loaned from the Greek *στατήρ*. This word is found in perhaps four different Papyri, of which the earliest dates from about 400 B.C. Here not only Sachau and Ungnad, followed by Tisdall, regard this word as a Graecism, but also Cowley, who notes it in AP 35 : 4 as the first occurrence of a Greek word in the texts he is editing.

It may be agreed that it is probable that we have here a genuine Greek loan-word. Nevertheless, it cannot be held to be certain. Tisdall refers to the presence of the word in the Assyrian *istatiru* on tablets of the time of Artaxerxes II, who reigned 465–424, B.C. and Johns to *istatiranu*, found in the Macedonian period, and the latter argues[4] that the borrowing may have been on the side of Greek. He points out that *istatiranu* may be derived from some

[1] *Vide* AP p. 96.

[2] Dr. J. P. Naish has supplied me with references to *Yasht* 14 : 9, *zairigaoša* = *gold-eared*, and *Yasna* 57 : 19, *zaiⁱrⁱdōⁱithrō* = *gold-eyed* (*Haoma*), showing that *zăr* = *gold* is found in the Old Persian language of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., i.e., of the period during which the Elephantine Papyri were being written.

[3] Langdon's view is quoted by Cowley, *ibid.*

[4] *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, ii. pp. 278 ff.

Ištar name,[1] and that the Syriac and Rabbinic forms, ܐܣܬܝܪܐ and אֶסְתִּירָא agree with the form in which Ass. Ištar appears in these dialects, while Greek στ is usually found as *st* in loan-words. He further points out that as a coin name *stater* was first used by the Greeks to denote what was at any rate an oriental money value.[2] To this view Olmstead attaches himself, declaring[3] that the 'Ištar heads' of the Assyrian business documents are the direct ancestors, in name as in fact, of the Persian and Greek coins called *staters*, while Johns also claims[4] the support of Jensen and Babelon. Other Assyriologists, however, deny the existence of these 'Ištar heads',[5] and render the expression differently. The case must therefore be held to be 'not proven', and we may continue to regard the סתתר of our texts as borrowed from the Greek στατήρ, though with an element of reserve in our judgement.

(iv) G. R. Driver makes the suggestion[6] that המונית of AP 27 : 4, 30 : 6, may be an Aramaic Adverb formed from הֲמוֹנָיָה = ὁμόνοια, *agreement*, while G. Jahn would connect with the Greek ἁρμονία. Here we may with equal probability seek a Persian derivation,[7] finding in the first syllable Persian *ham* or *han*, meaning *together*, which appears in הנדרז, הנדון, הנגית, and הנבגא.

(v) Tisdall would most improbably connect פחטמוני with Greek, and says perhaps the latter part may be a corruption of ἀρτέμων. It is much more likely, however, that we have here a word of Egyptian origin.[8]

(vi) G. Jahn proposes to find a few further Greek words[9] in the Papyri. The principal thesis of that writer is that the Papyri are not genuine documents, and his purpose in drawing attention to the Graecisms is to discredit the documents. For he maintains

[1] On *s* instead of *š*, cf. GVG i. p. 136.

[2] Cf. Oppert (*JA* 1874, ii. 480), 'Il paraît que toute la série des termes stathmétiques, au grec, est d'origine babylonienne'.

[3] Cf. *History of Assyria*, pp. 321, 537.

[4] *Op. cit.*, ii. p. 286, iii. p. 8.

[5] Cf. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, i. p. 356.

[6] See *JTS* xxv. p. 299.

[7] So Cowley (AP p. 101).

[8] So Cowley (AP p. 95).

[9] *Die Elephantiner Papyri und die Bücher Esra-Nehemja*, p. 18.

that Greek first spread in the East in the time of Alexander the Great, and that Graecisms in the time of Darius II are very improbable. It has already been said that Greek loan-words could not be regarded as surprising in Egypt in the age of the Papyri. Nevertheless, the additional Greek words Jahn finds do not appear to be genuine Greek words. Thus he explains אגורא by the Greek *ἀγορά*. It is quite unnecessary to resort to Greek to explain a word which has excellent and appropriate Semitic connexions, and we may rather trace it back through *ēkurru* = *temple* to the Sumerian *e-kur*.[1] Jahn further expresses the opinion that Greek loan-words are probably to be found in תיפתיא, for which, however, a Persian derivation is altogether more likely, and ארדיכל, which he equates with *ἀρ*[*χι*]*τέκτων*. Why he resorts to so strained a Greek derivation when a far more natural derivation can be found in Akkadian *arad-ēkalli* is passing strange.

We may reduce the Greek loan-words in the Vocabulary of the Papyri, therefore, to one probable word and one possible word. In the Vocabulary of Biblical Aramaic, however, there are some undoubted Graecisms.

In the book of Daniel it is usual to find at least three Greek words. Marti, in the first edition of his Grammar, enumerated five,[2] but in his Commentary on Daniel omitted[3] שבכא and כרוז. In the third edition of his Grammar, however, he still retains[4] שבכא, though he questions כרוז. We should probably eliminate both of these words.

It has been said above that Boutflower would give to כרוז a Persian derivation. On the other hand, it is argued in the *Corpus*[5] that an ancient seal bearing the one word לכרזי proves that the root כרז was Aramaic, and hence that כרוז was not derived from *κῆρυξ*. While this is more than doubtful,[6] כרזי being almost certainly a Proper Name,[7] the commonly accepted Greek deriva-

[1] Cf. AF p. 68, Nöldeke in *ZA* xx. p. 131, Van Hoonacker in *Schweich Lectures*, 1914, p. 52 f.

[2] P. 92. [3] Pp. xiv, 20. [4] P. 80.

[5] See note on CIS ii. 86.

[6] It is accepted, however, by SAC (p. 66). [7] So NSE p. 299.

tion[1] is also scarcely satisfactory, and should probably be rejected, with Nöldeke.[2] The form of כרוז is good Semitic, and it is said by some[3] to be not a direct borrowing from the Greek *κῆρυξ*, but to be derived from כרז = *κηρύσσειν*. But whether in Biblical or Targumic Aramaic or in Syriac, we do not meet with כרז = *κηρύσσειν*, but with the (H)Aphel only in this sense. It is wholly unlikely that *κηρύσσειν* would have been borrowed as הכרז.

That שבכא = *σαμβύκη* seems certain, but it is uncertain which is the borrowed word, or whether both are borrowed from a third source. *Σαμβύκη* does not appear to be of Greek origin,[4] however, and the instrument is stated by Athenaeus and Strabo[5] to have originated abroad, the former definitely connecting it with Syria. We may, therefore, with confidence eliminate both כרוז and שבכא from the Greek loan-words in Daniel.

Some further words which have been held to be Greek seem also on examination unable to support the claim. Thus Torrey argues that פתגם is to be equated with *φθέγμα*, declaring[6] that 'the hypothesis of a Greek loan-word, namely *φθέγμα*, *word*, *utterance*, is more probable on all grounds' than that of a Persian derivation. Montgomery effectively criticizes this hypothesis,[7] however, and it may be set aside in favour of the more usual connexion with Persian. Moreover, Kautzsch's derivation[8] of המניכא from *μανιάκης* has not commanded general assent, and is to be set aside for the more common view that we have here a Persian loan-word, the Persian probably being the original of both the Aramaic and the Greek.[9]

We are left, therefore, with but three Greek words in Daniel, viz., קיתרס = *κίθαρις*, פסנתרין = *ψαλτήριον*, and סומפניה = *συμφωνία*.

[1] Cf. K[GBA] p. 119, Mein. *Dan.* p. 260, BDB *s. v.*, G-B *s. v.*, B-L p. 191.

[2] *Vide GGA* 1884, p. 1019.

[3] So Kautzsch, *loc. cit.*, and B-L *loc. cit.*

[4] Cf. Liddell and Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*, *s. v.*

[5] Montgomery (*Dan.* p. 203), says that Strabo in *Geog.* x. 3, 17 notes the *word σαμβύκη* as of foreign origin.

[6] ES p. 177 [7] *Dan.* p. 209. [8] GBA p. 119.

[9] Cf. Behrmann, *Dan.* p. ix., where Polybius is cited for the statement that *μανιάκης* is itself a loan-word.

These all seem to be indisputable cases of direct borrowing from Greek.

So far as the book of Ezra is concerned, Greek loan-words are not commonly found there by scholars. Torrey, however, in addition to finding a Greek loan-word in פתגם, has advanced the suggestion that אפתם[1] should be read, instead of אפתם, and should be regarded as the Greek ἐπίταξις = *taxation*, or ἐπίθεσις = *impost*,[2] and that אפרסכיא is derived from the Greek ἔπαρχος.[3] For the transposition of the כ and ם, he adduces the transposition in the name of Alexander (Aliskander). These are highly problematical, however, and are not to be preferred to the Persian derivations usually sought.

It is to the problem created by the presence of the three Greek words in Daniel, therefore, that we return. That problem is two-fold. Why any? Why only these? If Daniel was written in Babylon in the middle of the sixth century B.C., how shall we account for the presence of Greek words at all, while if it was written well on in the Greek period, how is it that Greek words are not more numerous?

(*a*) We have seen that the argument from Greek words in the Papyri is insecure. But even if all the words which have been claimed for Greek were incontestably Greek, the position would not be materially modified. For the position of Greece in Mediterranean commerce *circa* 400 B.C. was such that if more than the name of a coin and a garment, and three or four other words had been contributed by the Greeks to Egyptian Aramaic, we should not have been surprised. But the position of Greece in Babylonian commerce more than a century earlier was very different. It is, of course, true, as Boutflower points out, that there had been some intercourse between Babylonians and the Greeks of Asia Minor earlier than that, and we could not rule out the possibility that any words had passed from Greek to Babylonian Aramaic. At the same time, there is little likelihood of many words having so passed over.

[1] An alternative MS. reading.

[2] ES p. 175.

[3] ES p. 174.

We shall do better, however, to confine our attention to the particular words, rather than deal with *a priori* arguments as to the possibility or impossibility of borrowing. We have here the names of three musical instruments, and Wilson points out that it is reasonable to suppose that the names accompanied the articles when they were traded to the East. In this he is probably right. It remains to be asked, however, whether these particular articles of commerce were likely to have been introduced into the East from the West at that date. That there was some commercial intercourse between Greece and Babylon may be allowed, but the real problem is created by the particular names we find here. Wilson is content to leave that problem unmentioned and unfaced. For of these three words, two do not occur in Greek literature until long after the alleged date of the book of Daniel. Thus ψαλτήριον is first mentioned in Greek literature in Aristotle, two hundred years after the alleged occurrence in Daniel, and συμφωνία first appears in Greek in Plato, some century and a half after the suggested date of Daniel, but in the proper abstract sense of *harmony*, while as the name of a musical instrument, it is first found in Greek literature in Polybius, nearly four hundred years after the supposed date of Daniel. In the absence of any shred of evidence to the contrary, or of any adequate suggestion to account for this remarkable fact, we can only conclude that it is highly improbable that Greek words should appear first in literature in an Aramaic work some centuries before they appear in Greek writers. Had this been the case with but one word it would have been remarkable enough, but that it should be the case with two of the three Greek words found in Daniel is altogether too improbable a coincidence. Moreover, G. R. Driver points out[1] that not only is συμφωνία in the concrete sense of a musical instrument not met with until late, but such a use of the abstract term is a post-classical usage.

It should be added that Boutflower quotes from a writer who attempts to blunt the edge of the argument just employed, main-

[1] *JBL loc. cit.*, p. 119.

taining that the fact that an instrument is mentioned for the first time by a late author is no proof that it was a late invention. He quotes with approval the suggestion that these Greek words were taken to Babylon by Ionians, who were of 'much the same class as the Europeans who traversed India in the days of the Great Moghul. But these vagabond Europeans, artillerymen, artificers, contributed more words for common objects to the native language than the English have done since Plassey'.[1] But did these vagabond Europeans contribute any European words which made their appearance in Indian literature before their first appearance in European literature? It would be interesting to have a list of them. It is not contended that the first mention of a word indicates that the article designated was recently invented, but it *is* suggested that the appearance of two Greek words in a foreign work so long prior to their appearance in Greek works, especially two out of a total of three loan-words used, combined with the distinctly post-classical sense attached to one of them, is an improbability that still awaits a well authenticated parallel.

(*b*) We thus find in these Greek words a very clear indication that the Aramaic of Daniel cannot be regarded as dating from the sixth century B. C. This brings us, however, against the alternative problem of the fewness of these Greek words in Daniel. Is this consistent with the critical view of the date of Daniel? If it was written well on in the Greek period, why do we not find more Greek words?

Tisdall feels that he is here on strong ground. He writes:[2] 'If it be said that no doubt the pious forger of the Book was careful to avoid Greek, in order to prevent his forgery from being detected, we ask, Why then did he use even three such words? If he was clever enough to perceive that the use of foreign terms was dangerous, why not avoid them altogether? The fraud theory seems to break down either way. If so, why not give it up and believe that the writer was an honest man? Is it because the critics secretly deny the possibility of genuine prophecy? But if this is

[1] *Vide* Boutflower, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

[2] *Expositor*, *loc. cit.*, p. 350.

really the explanation, is their appeal to literary criticism quite honest or scientific?' We may leave aside the modest suggestion that critics who do not share Dr. St. Clair Tisdall's views are *ipso facto* to be set down as dishonest or unscientific, and content ourselves with observing that those who differ from his conclusions are fully prepared to consider any evidence that may be brought forward. But their view, happily, does not resolve itself into a fraud theory that breaks down either way, nor are they reduced to the unfortunate necessity of supporting their positions by imputing moral dishonesty to all who differ from them. There are other alternatives besides supposing that the author made an unsuccessful attempt to avoid giving himself away.

It must be remembered that at the period when many scholars argue that the book of Daniel was written, the Jews were engaged in a fierce struggle with the Greek dynasty of the Seleucids, under Antiochus Epiphanes. Tacitus tells us that it was the policy of that monarch to spread Greek culture,[1] and the First Book of Maccabees narrates the familiar story of how he desolated Jerusalem, plundered the Temple and forbade the daily sacrifices. In these circumstances, it would not be expected that we should find a multiplicity of Greek words amongst the people who were thus fiercely fighting for their own culture and religion as against Greek. The fight was not so much against Antiochus as against Greek culture, and surely this is sufficient to account for the absence of that host of Greek terms which Tisdall would desiderate in a production of that age. If the Jewish community in Elephantine could preserve its dialect from the admixture of Egyptian words, when it was not living normally in a state of fierce hostility to the Egyptians, but simply as a largely self-contained community, it is not surprising that the Jews of the time of Antiochus Epiphanes should not merely preserve their dialect from a multiplicity of Graecisms, but should deliberately repudiate them[2]. In short, it was not because the author wished

[1] *Hist.* v. 8.

[2] Cf. the banishment of even German music from many English concerts during the Great War, and the removal of German names from streets. Cf. also the *revival* of Irish by the Irish Republican Party in the last few years.

to prevent his 'fraud'—to use Tisdall's offensively inappropriate word—from being detected, but because he hated everything Greek, and was writing for people who hated it, and with the object of stimulating them to continue to fight against it.

Does not this, however, prove too much? Are we not brought up again on the other horn of the dilemma, and confronted with the difficulty, Why, then, any Greek words? If the Jews were thus fighting Greek culture, and repudiating Greek influence, why should the book of Daniel admit even these few Greek words? But here again an answer lies to hand. It is to be sought in the particular words used. While Greek words in general were repudiated, these particular terms may have been introduced for a particular purpose. And a particular purpose needs little seeking. We have already said that at that time Antiochus Epiphanes was endeavouring to suppress the Jewish religion and to set up Greek culture and Greek religious practices. In Samaria he succeeded, and the Temple on Gerizim became known as the Temple of Jupiter Hellenius.[1] If the theory of the origin of the book of Daniel at this time is correct, then the third chapter would be designed to represent in the guise of a story of Nebuchadrezzar this attempt of Antiochus Epiphanes, and to encourage the Jews to resistance. Now it happens that Polybius, who was contemporary with these events, tells us that one of these instruments mentioned in the book of Daniel was a favourite with Antiochus Epiphanes at the festivities in which he indulged.[2] This coincidence has been frequently pointed out. But does it not give us the clue to the explanation of the presence of these three words in Daniel? The skilful author of the book may well have included here the names of musical instruments which his contemporaries would at once associate with the hated foreign festivals of Antiochus Epiphanes, in order to drive home by this allusion the true purport of his story. For the critical view does not represent the author as a forger, anxious not to be found out. His object was urgent and practical. It was to hearten men for the fight that was

[1] Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* XII. v. 5.

[2] Cf. Driver, LOT p. 502 *n.*, and fragment quoted in Bevan, *Dan.* p. 41 *n.*

then in progress. It was therefore of the essence of his purpose that his readers should read into his story the events of their own day. He was not writing with a view to immortality, but because his soul was afire, and he wanted to pass on the sacred flame. And so, though ordinarily he had no use for the hated Greek words, he is ready here to make scornful use of the names of some of the Greek instruments used in the Festivals Antiochus was trying to force on them.[1] Here we have no clumsy forger, but the consummate skill of a great patriot.

It thus appears that while these particular Greek terms are peculiarly difficult to account for on the theory that the book of Daniel was written in Babylon in the sixth century B.C., since two of them are not met with in Greek literature until a much later date, on the alternative view of the origin of the book both the general absence of Greek words and the presence of these particular Greek words are capable of a simple and natural explanation, and provide no embarrassment whatever.

(7) In the interests of completeness, it should perhaps be noted that Latin loan-words in our texts are practically confined to the Palmyrene inscriptions. Perhaps one is to be found in the Papyri. These words are all either military terms, or the names of Roman coins and measures. Their presence in the Palmyrene inscriptions is perfectly natural, and their absence from Biblical Aramaic is in no way remarkable. It would not be necessary to make so obvious a remark but that Wilson argues that since Roman military titles are inscribed on the tablets erected in honour of the people who bore them, therefore Palmyrene was not even 'nearly allied' to Biblical Aramaic. This argument is an odd one, and would reduce the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* to a polyglot production in a great variety of languages that are not even 'nearly allied' to one another.

Our general impression, therefore, from the study of the foreign elements in the Vocabulary of the literature under survey is that the Greek words in Daniel render Babylon in the sixth century B.C.

[1] It is interesting to recall that during the European War, though German in general was banned in England, certain expressions with particular associations were commonly met—e.g., *Kultur*, *spurlos versenken*, *strafe*.

a most unlikely, or even impossible, place and date of origin for the Aramaic sections of that book, and point strongly to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes and to Jerusalem. In the remaining foreign elements there is nothing whatever to embarrass this view, but only such evidence as would lend it support. Apart from the Greek words, Biblical Aramaic would seem to be intermediate between the Papyri and the Targums. It has fewer Hebraisms than the Papyri, while in both Akkadian and Persian loan-words it stands much nearer to the Targums than do the Papyri.

XIV

To what conclusion, then, does our study as a whole lead us? We have seen that in the Consonantal Mutations which mark the various groups of inscriptions and the Papyri, on which our evidence is not, as in the case of Vocabulary, fragmentary, but on the contrary full and sure, since they occur on every page and in almost every inscription, Biblical Aramaic differs decisively from the early groups, and agrees with Nabataean, Palmyrene, and the Targums —with the Aramaic of a later age, that is, and the Aramaic used in, or near, Palestine. In the Accidence we have again and again found that Biblical Aramaic seems to occupy a position intermediate between that of the Papyri and that of the Targums, while our study of the Syntax has but confirmed this conclusion. On the one hand, we have found many affinities with the Papyri as against the later Aramaic of the Nabataean and Palmyrene inscriptions, and on the other hand we have found many affinities with these latter as against the Papyri. Rarely do the Papyri agree with the Targums against Biblical Aramaic; frequently does Biblical Aramaic agree with the Targums against the Papyri; while again and again when we find Biblical Aramaic agreeing with the Papyri against the Targums, we find Nabataean and Palmyrene inscriptions sharing the same usage. On the basis of the evidence on these points, there is no reason whatever to suggest that the Aramaic of Daniel was earlier than that of the Papyri, and much to suggest

that the Aramaic of both Daniel and Ezra was later. Nor is there any weight of evidence to connect Biblical Aramaic with the East, but much to connect it with Nabataean, Palmyrene, and the Targums—that is, with the West.

From this we can safely conclude that it is highly probable that Biblical Aramaic was later than that of the Papyri, but as to how much later, we have scant means of judging. That it was in some respects earlier in type than Nabataean and Palmyrene is certain, though there is no evidence that it was necessarily very considerably earlier.

On the other hand, we have little ground on which to differentiate between Daniel and Ezra—certainly not enough to be able to establish with any confidence the interval that separated them.[1] It may be noted, however, that in the Pronouns and Pronominal Suffixes we have sometimes found Ezra agreeing with the earlier usage of the Papyri, when Daniel agrees with the later usage of the Targums. Elsewhere, too, we have found more marked evidences of later usage in Daniel than in Ezra. It must be recognized, however, that in view of the fact that in some of these cases we find the older usage still persisting in the Nabataean inscriptions we cannot draw any very assured conclusions from this, though we may remember that some of the changes in usage reached the Nabataeans somewhat later than their neighbours. Certainly it is hard to resist the conclusion that in some respects the Aramaic of Daniel is distinctly later in type than that of Ezra, and that therefore if the two books emanated from the same locality Ezra is somewhat older than Daniel.[2] The interval between them could not have been very considerable, and may have been very slight.

In the matter of Vocabulary, we have found little sure ground for judgement. The evidence is mostly neutral. There are many interesting connexions between Biblical Aramaic and the Papyri,

[1] Baumgartner would allow but a few decades, or at most a century between them. See *ZAW*, *loc. cit.*, p. 122.

[2] Cf. Torrey's judgement that 'there is not a single particular, major or minor, in which the one of them (i. e., the Aramaic writings of the O.T.) can be said with confidence to belong to a more advanced stage of development than its fellow' (ES p. 162).

but in such fragmentary literature as we possess in many of the groups, it is precarious to base much on this. Vocabulary is to a large extent determined by subject-matter, and moreover the Papyri and Biblical Aramaic both issued from the hand of Jews. Further, we have found that most of the words which are common to Biblical Aramaic and the Papyri are also found in the later Jewish Aramaic of the Targums, and we should therefore be quite unjustified in arguing for the early date of Daniel on the basis of these. Moreover, despite the neutral character of much of the evidence, we have found several indications pointing to the probability that Biblical Aramaic was later than that of the Papyri, and nothing that would provide embarrassment for such a view.

So far as Vocabulary is concerned, it is the loan-words which are the most interesting and significant, and here again we have found no reason to regard Biblical Aramaic as earlier than the Papyri, and several indications that it was later. And in particular we have found that the Greek words in Daniel mark that book as being almost certainly not of Babylonian origin in the sixth century B.C., but with peculiar likelihood of Palestinian origin and of the second century B.C.

Nowhere, then, do we find any support for the view that Daniel is older than the Papyri, and very much to indicate, on the contrary, that it is younger. Apart from the significant Greek terms, we have insufficient data to confine within very narrow limits the possible date of the Aramaic sections of Ezra or of Daniel, but we have sufficient data to say with considerable assurance that the view of Wilson, quoted at the beginning of our study, is quite unjustified. While many of the points, taken alone, could not be regarded as conclusive, their cumulative weight is conclusive, and in particular, the evidence of the consonantal changes alone is strong enough to sustain this judgement. Moreover, the fact that Wilson has no better way of escaping from the difficulties under which his theory labours than by suggesting that Daniel was a Spelling Reformer is the strongest possible testimony to the sureness of our conclusion.

We may sum up the result of our inquiry, then, by saying that

on linguistic grounds we are convinced that Biblical Aramaic is not Babylonian Aramaic, nor is Daniel contemporary with the events it purports to describe. We may safely say that it is not earlier than the fourth century B.C., and we may connect it with great probability with Palestine. As to a *terminus ad quem*, we are only in a position to say with certainty that it is earlier than the Nabataean inscriptions. We have found nothing whatever in the course of our study to make a second century date for Daniel impossible or improbable, or in any way to embarrass such a view, and Greek terms which strongly point to that time. Nor have we found anything in the Aramaic of Ezra which would compel us to push it back very far beyond that time. From the study of language alone, we could not speak more definitely than to say that the Aramaic sections of Ezra may have been written in the fourth or third centuries B.C.

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